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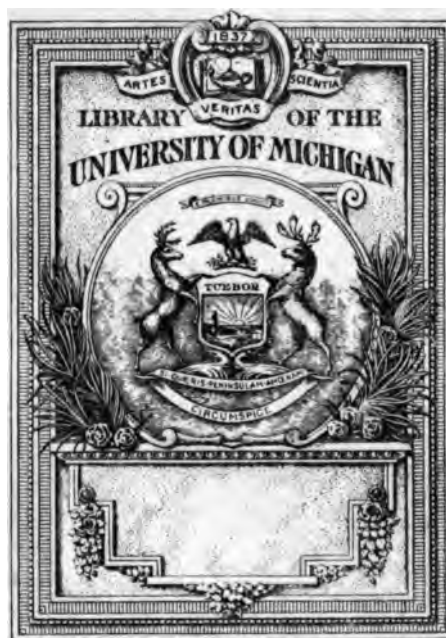
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**PUBLICATIONS
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AMERICANA GERMANICA

**MONOGRAPHS DEVOTED TO THE COMPARATIVE
STUDY OF THE**

**Literary, Linguistic and Other Cultural Relations
OF
Germany and America**

**EDITOR
MARION DEXTER LEARNED
University of Pennsylvania**

(See List at the End of the Book)

ERRATA.

Page 17	line 10	gespanntester	<i>not</i> gepaukester.
Page 29	line 30	seven hundred and eighty-one	<i>not</i> seven and eighty-one.
Page 30	line 6	have	<i>not</i> leave.
Page 39	line 33	which	<i>not</i> with.
Page 45	line 14	has	<i>not</i> his.
Page 103	line 20	Leibbuch	<i>not</i> LeibeBuch.
Page 119	lines 7-8	unparteiische	<i>not</i> undparteiische
Page 120	line 33	Dass	<i>not</i> Das.
Page 128	line 8	aged	<i>not</i> agent.
Page 129	line 4	give up all hope	<i>not</i> give all hope.
Page 134	line 18	ce	<i>not</i> co.
Page 139	line 7	whose [sic] there is	<i>not</i> whose there is.
Page 146	line 5	très très	<i>not</i> trés trés.
Page 150	line 14	pleasure I embrace	<i>not</i> pleasure embrace.
Page 151	line 7	civil	<i>not</i> evil.
Page 152	line 33	pleased	<i>not</i> leased.
Page 154	line 30	weisen	<i>not</i> weihen.

BIOGRAPHY.

Page 172	line 3	88a. James, Edmund J.	belongs in line 5.
Page 175	line 10	148. Nothanker	<i>not</i> Notdanker.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN AND GERMANY

*Thesis presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of the University of Pennsylvania in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the Degree
of Doctor of Philosophy.*

By

BEATRICE MARGUERITE VICTORY

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TO MY PARENTS

CONTENTS.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN AND GERMANY.

Chapter I. Frederick the Great.

- a. Attitude toward England.
- b. Attitude toward the North American Colonies.

Chapter II. Franklin's Diplomatic Career.

- d. Diplomatic Relations with Austria and Prussia.
- b. Three Visits to Paris.
 - 1. 1767.
 - 2. 1769.
 - 3. 1776.
- c. Emperor Joseph's Visit to Paris.
- d. Diplomatic Relations with Prussia and Austria.
- e. Attitude of Louis XVI toward England and the North American Colonies.

Chapter III. Franklin's Visit to Germany.

- a. Evidences of His Visit.
- b. Franklin's References to Absence.

Chapter IV. Franklin's Knowledge of Things German.

- a. At Home.
- b. Abroad.
- c. Knowledge of the German Language.
- d. Edict of the King of Prussia.

Chapter V. Franklin's Reputation in Europe—Germany.

- a. In the Eighteenth Century.
- b. In the Nineteenth Century.
- c. In the Twentieth Century.

Chapter VI. Franklin in German Poetry.

Chapter VII. Franklin as Known to—

- a. Goethe.
- b. Schiller.
- c. Justus Möser.
- d. Herder (Johann Fried).

Chapter VIII. Franklin in the German Novel.

- a. Charles Sealesfield.
- b. Proskow.
- c. Berthold Auerbach.
- d. Elise Polko.

Chapter IX. Letters to Franklin from Germans.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Chapter X. Chronological List of Franklin's Works in German.

Chapter XI. Chronological Bibliography.

PREFACE.

If one examines the bibliography of Benjamin Franklin, it will seem almost impossible to conceive of any phase of the life or activities of the "many-sided" Doctor, which has not been exhaustively treated.

The following dissertation was suggested by Professor Marion Dexter Learned, of the University of Pennsylvania, who was kind enough to place in the author's hands photographic reproductions¹ of the correspondence of the American representatives, Carmichael, Arthur and William Lee and others, which were directed for the most part to Schulenburg, the Minister of War and State for Frederick the Great. These were most helpful in following Franklin's diplomatic career.

Benjamin Franklin spent from June 15 to August 13, 1766, in Germany. The American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia in the Collection of Franklin Papers possesses ample proof of this visit in several original letters. One addressed to Mrs. Franklin dated London, June 13, 1766, gives his intended plans thus: "Tomorrow I set out with my friend Mr. Pringle (now Sir John) on a journey to Pyrmont where he goes to drink the waters. I propose to leave him at Pyrmont and visit some of the principal cities nearest to it and call for him again when the time for our return draws nigh." Franklin visited Göttingen and Hanover. Of his visit to Hanover we possess but one proof—a Latin letter from a Dr. Hartmann of that city.² Of the journey to the University of Göttingen and his associations with professors of that institution there is richer proof. Franklin himself intended to treat this trip in his Autobiography under headlines "Journey into Germany, 1766. Civilities received there. Göttingen observations."³ Dr. Herbert P. Gallinger in his thesis entitled *Relation of German Publicists to the American War of Independence*

¹To be found in the Collection of the Emperor William Institution of German American Research at University of Pennsylvania.

²Mentioned by Sparks in his *Franklin*, Vol. VII, p. 326.

³Franklin draft copy of *Autobiography*. Printed Smyth, Vol. I, p. 224.

(1775-1783), Leipzig, 1900; Mr. L. Viereck, in *Americana Germanica* (Vol. IV, No. 2); Mr. Joseph G. Rosengarten in his address *German Universities* delivered on October 24, 1902, at the University of Pennsylvania, and Edmund J. James, *The Nation*, April 18, 1895, p. 296 f., give very fruitful suggestions of Franklin's visit to Germany.

The author spent one year in Germany endeavoring to enlarge the field of these suggestions. Original letters have been most carefully examined and a thorough investigation of American material has been made. The author desires to express her sincerest appreciation to Dr. I. Minis Hays of the American Philosophical Society, who kindly placed at her disposal the valuable Franklin Collection. Help was given by Professor J. Wiesner, of Vienna, and by the Amerika-Institut in Berlin. To Herr Walter Gerlach the author is grateful for his research work at the University of Göttingen.

BEATRICE MARGUERITE VICTORY, M. A.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN AND GERMANY.

CHAPTER I.

FREDERIC THE GREAT.

(a) *Attitude Toward England.*

Frederic the Great hated England most cordially and, we may say, most justly, for from the earliest days of his accession to the throne of Prussia, 1740, his uncle, George II, had ever shown an animosity which he took but meagre, if any, pains to conceal. The real and only cause was an inherent jealousy and fear that this nephew might increase his small domain even by inches, to the detriment of the English ancestral continental centre, the Electorate of Hanover.

With the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle, 1748, England and Spain, France and England, found their mutual conditions practically the same as before those eight weary years of reciprocal grievances and leakages in the public treasuries. "To the balance of power, sustained by standing armies of a million of men, the statesmen of that day intrusted the preservation of the tranquility, and, ignorant of the might of principles to mould the relations of states, saw in Austria the certain ally of England, in France the natural ally of Prussia."^{2a}

In spite of the fact that George II, in the summer of 1745, during the second war of the Austrian Succession, still harboring in the caucles of his heart the secret displeasure at the wresting of Silesia from Austria by Frederic, turned to Maria Theresa and carried on friendly relations with the Catholic Power, at the same time offering subsidies to Mayence, Cologne, Bavaria and the Count Palatine to Joseph II, King of the Romans—in spite of all this, he had the audacity to expect the support of his kinsman for the furtherance of his plans. Thus playing his part diplomatically, in 1756, he formulated with Frederic the treaty

^{2a} George Bancroft, *History of the United States of America* (1884); Vol. II, p. 312.

of Westminster, hoping by this agreement of neutrality to protect Hanover from the coalition of the European Powers. In this same year, the houses of Hapsburg and Capet, after nearly three hundred years of contention, joined hands to support the interests of Catholicism and propagate the utter downfall of Prussia and, if possible, the ruin of Germany. Frederic, however, surprised and frustrated the hopes of these combined allies against him, by saving Prussia. All Europe stood aghast before this "Gustavus Adolphus", as the Protestant nations called him. In his terrible campaigns "two hundred and sixty thousand men stood against seven hundred thousand, and had not conquered".⁴

With the accession of George III and the appointment, October, 1761, of Bute as minister in the place of Pitt, the staunch adherent and supporter of the Prussian king, any real or seeming alliance between the two Powers was at once broken off. Prussia found herself utterly abandoned. Among the English diplomats, Frederic knew that plans for peace were being made, but the benefits of such an armistice meant for his kingdom the assured loss of his Silesian territory. "How is it possible", such were the words addressed by Frederic to Pitt, "how can the English nation propose to make cessions to my enemies—that nation which has guaranteed my possessions by authentic acts known to the whole world?"⁵

Benjamin Franklin describes these wars on the continent in a letter to David Hall, dated London, April 8, 1759:

"The Powers at war on the Continent have excited themselves to the utmost this Winter, to be able to bring vast armies into the field, and they are already in motion. If this King of Prussia can stand his Ground this Year, his Enemies will be tired of so costly a War. And he bids fair for it, for he takes the Field this Spring with as fine an Army as he had since the War began, and hitherto he has very little burthen'd his own People for Supplies either of Money or Men, drawing both from his Enemies or Neighbors. But what the event will be God only

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 481.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 538.

knows. Three Monarchys the most powerful in Europe besides the Swedes, on his Back at once; No Magnamity (sic) but his own could think of bearing it; no Courage but his that would not sink under it, no any less Bravery, Skill and Activity than his that would equal to it. If he again should drub them all around, and at length obtain an honorable and advantageous peace, his Renown will far exceed that of all the Heroes in History."⁶

Again he writes concerning this same subject late in September, 1761, to his friend, William Strahan: "Call to mind your former fears for the King of Prussia, and remember my telling you that the man's abilities were more than equal to all the forces of his enemies, and that he would finally extricate himself and triumph."⁷

As late as 1789, he still felt a keen interest in all things that pertained to his Prussian Majesty and wrote on June 3rd of that year from Philadelphia, the following to Benjamin Vaughan: "I have not seen the King of Prussia's posthumous works; what you mention makes me desirous to have them. Please to mention it to your brother William, and that I request him to add them to the books I have desired him to buy for me."⁸

Thus deserted and wilfully betrayed, since George had diplomatically ordered Sir William Yorke, minister at The Hague, to offer the Empress of Austria even Silesia to renew her friendly relationship with him, Frederic, nothing daunted, found alone his road to success and unfading glory, as Franklin had predicted. At every turn England flaunted her hatred in the very eyes of this irresistible warrior. Any means to break the iron tenacity of his indomitable will. Why hesitate at the sum of one hundred thousand pounds? Well could Frederic laugh to scorn his recognized enemy at the news of the rise of the North American Colonies. Perhaps George felt a little misgiving and a faint twinge of fear that the far-sighted and cunning Frederic might now see clearly the long desired method of mildly wreak-

⁶ Original letter in the Museum of Independence Hall.

⁷ *Private Correspondence of Benjamin Franklin* (1818), Vol. I, p. 251.

⁸ Collection of Hon. S. W. Pennypacker. Printed in Smyth's *Benjamin Franklin*, Vol. X, p. 209.

ing vengeance for the past wrongs by dispatching well trained troops to the New World. Great must have been the astonishment of all England, that he took no active part in the rising controversy and only a seeming, passive interest. Passive it most assuredly was, but yet a friendly attitude, which asserted itself later, however, in a more tangible form.

One of the leading motives of the policy of Frederic was to increase the trade and commerce of his beloved Prussia. This policy he hoped to perpetrate by eventually binding the ports of east Frisia closely and permanently with the markets of the North American Colonies. East Frisia first fell into the possession of Prussia in 1744. Through the position of this province on the North Sea and because of its not unimportant ports it seemed to assure the world commerce, for which the king so earnestly and ardently yearned. It was then with this point in view, that we find Frederic's energies directed toward the American Colonies, but it was these colonies themselves that made the first venture into the fields of diplomacy. What was the reason for this modest backwardness on the part of this persistently aggressive ruler, who with the exception of Joseph II of Austria, was then the only king in Germany? Burdened with years that rested heavily upon his drooping shoulders, longing for the staunch support of those faithful friends, whom the god of war had claimed as his booty, alone with the reflections of victories, that haunted him with their bloody carnage, that strangled in the gaunt hand of death the breath of their lasting glory thus we find Frederic at the crucial moment, when the Colonies were just mustering those potent forces and stirring the embers, which were to burst forth in the flame of the American Revolution. As Bancroft says: "No one of the Powers of Europe is heartily his ally. Russia will soon leave for Austria, his great deeds become to him so many anxieties; his system meets with persistent and deadly enmity. He seeks rest; and strong and unavoidable antagonism allow his wasted strength no repose. He is childless and alone; his nephew, who will be his successor neglects him, and follows other counsels; his own brother hopes and prays to heaven that the king's days may not be prolonged.

Worn by unparelled labor and years he strikes against obstacles on all sides as he seeks to give a sure life to his kingdom; and prudence teaches him that he must still dare and suffer and go on."⁹

In the North American Colonies themselves the exploits and surprising succession of victories of the great crusader of Protestantism were hailed with national rejoicing and thanksgiving by those rabid exponents of religious sentiment, the Puritans. In the Middle States, New York and Pennsylvania, the admiration for Frederic was no less markedly sincere. The Germans of Pennsylvania, who followed with keenest interest the military conquests of their beloved king "Fritz", saw in the victory of Rossbach the thwarting of their arch-enemy, the French, who had driven their fathers and their forefathers from their hereditary homes on the banks of the Rhine and in Swabia. Washington in a letter to Lafayette acknowledged the great honor of being so cordially esteemed by so renowned a statesman and warrior, as Frederic. Franklin took occasion to use the personality of the Prussian ruler to satirize the English and to show the interest of Frederic for the struggling Colonies. Green, in a letter to the Prussian Baron von Steuben, assured him of his hopes of his success in all campaigns since he intended to use the same military tactics, as those he had learned under the master of war, Frederic. In fact, the baron himself owed his ready acceptance and the American acquiescence to his suggestions in matter of warfare to the prestige gained from the honor accorded one who had been an adjutant in the Prussian army. Thomas Jefferson expressed the general opinion of the American Colonies when he wrote of the death of this king as an irreparable loss to the entire civilized world: "Still today in America they believe—so quickly a myth arises around popular figures—that Frederic demonstrated his respect for Washington by sending a sword of honor over to him: indeed the scientific magazines repeated in all good faith this fable, which it seems was founded on the fact that the Prussian smith of arms Theophilus Alte in Solingen sent to Washington a beautiful

⁹ Bancroft, *History of the U. S. A.*; Vol. V, p. 236.

sword made by himself with an inscription expressing his admiration."¹⁰

Frederic was awake to the significance of the uprising of England's Colonies, for he felt confident that the offspring of the mother country would prefer to see the work which they had centered in the upbuilding of their settlements in ruins, rather than withdraw one iota from their determined stand of opposition against the bonds of a selfish and despotic ruler. In September, 1774, he expressed himself in regard to the action of the Colonies as follows: "The more I reflect on the measures of the English government the more they appear to me arbitrary and despotic. That the court has provoked its colonies to withstand its measures, nobody can doubt. It invents new taxes; it wishes by its own authority to impose them on its colonies in manifest breach of their privileges; the colonies do not refuse their former taxes and demand only in regard to new ones to be placed on the same footing with England; but the government will not accord to them the right to tax themselves. This is the whole history of these disturbances."¹¹

Again in a letter to his minister, Count Maltzan, in London, he writes in December, 1775: "Es erhellt immer mehr dass der König von England mit seinen Colonien hohes Spiel spielt und sich in diese Wirren zu tief eingelassen hat um siegreich daraus hervorzugehen. . . . Die grosse Frage ist immer ob die Colonien nicht Mittel finden werden, sich ganz vom Mutterlande zu trennen und eine freie Republik zu stiften. . . . Gewiss ist dies, fast ganz Europa nimmt Partei für die Colonien und vertheidigt ihre Sache, während die Sache des Hofes weder Gönner noch Förderer findet."¹²

Yet Frederic was, at this time, too conservative to hazard any loss to the kingdom for which he had labored so untiringly, for the sake of coming like a knight errant to rescue the oppressed

¹⁰ F. Kapp, *Friederich der Grosse und die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika*; S. 13.

¹¹ Bancroft, *History of U. S. A.*; Vol. V, p. 237.

¹² *Das Zeitalter Friederichs des Grossen*. Dr. Wm. Oncken. Bd. 2, S. 838-839.

children of England: "In a careful search through his cabinet papers, I have found no letter or part of a letter in which he allowed the interest of his kingdom to suffer from personal pique or dynastic influence. His cares are for the country which he rather serves than rules. He sees and exactly measures its weakness as well as its strength, and gathers everyone of its disconnected parts under his wings."¹³

(b) *His Attitude Toward the North American Colonies.*

"Dem Befreiungskampfe der Amerikaner war von Friederich dem Grossen mit gepaukter Aufmerksamkeit gefolgt, aber ohne die leistete Regung solcher Empfindungen, wie sie von diesen bei ihm voraus gesetzt worden war. Allerdings leistete er den Amerikanern einen unschätzbaren Dienst."¹⁴ This service was indeed no small one. When in October, 1777, the German auxiliaries, hired by the English, began to make their way from Ansbach and Hesse, he forbade their passing through his realm and domains unless a certain toll per head was paid. In May, 1776, a plan for a direct commerce was advanced by Silas Deane, the first agent sent by the American Congress, with Montessuy, the Prussian minister for commercial affairs. This request was followed by the permission for the exchange of American products through the ports of Brittany. Commerce, however, between the North American Colonies and Prussia was declined; for Frederic felt that without a formidable fleet the results of such an action on the part of Prussia would be most uncertain. Just at this time the thoughts of the king were distracted from such foreign interests by the unwarranted claim of Austria to a contingent share in the inheritance of a large portion of Bavaria. Frederic, to ward off such a blow, turned to France. Through his minister he assured the French government that he would maintain neutrality and do his utmost to preserve peace, and Maurepas gave him a similar guarantee.

As early as the first of October, Deane wrote from Paris to the Committee of Secret Correspondence, its members being

¹³ Bancroft, *History of U. S. A.*; Vol. V, p. 238.

¹⁴ *Das Zeitalter Friederichs des Grossen*. W. Oncken. Vol. II, pp. 838-839.

Benjamin Franklin, Richard Henry Lee, Robert Morris and William Cooper, as follows: "Would you have universal commerce, commission some person to visit every kingdom on the continent that can hold any commerce with America. Among them by no means forget Prussia. Grain will be in demand in this kingdom and in the south of Europe." In the same letter he adds: "P. S. It is of importance, as I have mentioned in my former letters, to have some one deputed and empowered to treat with the king of Prussia. I am acquainted with his agent here, and have already through him received some queries and proposals respecting American commerce to which I am preparing a reply. . . . France and Spain are naturally our allies; the Italian States want our flour and some other articles; Prussia, ever pursuing her own interest, needs but be informed of some of the facts relative to America's growing commerce to favor us."¹⁵ Again in a letter to Dumas he gives expression to this same thought, October 3, 1776: "Since my last in which I mentioned the King of Prussia, I have obtained a method of sounding that monarch's sentiments more directly through another channel, which voluntary offering I have accepted."¹⁶ In a letter to John Jay on the 3rd of December that same year, from Paris, he shows that the relations in commercial interests are still being urged: "I have had overtures from the King of Prussia in the commercial way and have a person of greater confidence to his court, with letters of introduction from his agent here with whom I am on the best of terms."¹⁷

¹⁵ *Secret Journals of Congress* (Library of Congress); *Wharton Diplomatic Correspondence*. Vol. II, p. 154.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 213.

Whether it was from mismanagement on the part of Arthur Lee, or from a change of policy by Frederick, there was no treaty until 1785. See Wharton, I; p. 445 ff.

CHAPTER II.

FRANKLIN'S DIPLOMATIC CAREER.

The diplomacy of the American Revolution was dominated to the greatest extent by the all prevailing force of finance. Economy of finance meant recognition from the desired ally, France, and power over the oppressive enemy, England. With argumentations based on the principles of war and finance, the American diplomatists exerted every tangible method to accomplish their ends, not only against the mother country, but to their advantage with the European countries, that were willing or unwilling to lend their ears. Franklin, for instance, was not only diplomatic agent in Paris, but he was also, in the negotiation of our loans from France and the disbursement of the funds thus obtained, a secretary of the treasury; while in concerting allied campaigns, he was to some extent secretary of war, and in directing our navy, in European waters to some extent secretary of the navy. Our own success at home and the persistent bravery in crises, as displayed in the siege of Boston, won the natural support of the French nation, which grasped the importance of such a victory as Saratoga by raw recruits and a handful of unpracticed troops against the strength of the veteran army of Great Britain. The longed-for alliance with France was ratified in 1778, and the support of this country was the fruit of that genius of diplomacy, the world-famed Franklin, the head of the legation at Paris, and by whom so many of the intricate and difficult political affairs of the United Colonies were so tactfully and successfully managed. It was this venerable statesman, who showed the importance of the unbreakable spirit of independence, when he replied to an old friend, Hartley, who warned him of the danger, to which he would be perhaps exposed, in a foreign land: "I thank you for your kind caution, but having nearly finished a long life, I set but little value on what remains of it. Like a draper, when one chaffers with him for a remnant, I am ready to say, 'As it is only the fag end, I will not differ with you about it; take it for what you please.' Perhaps the best use such an old

fellow can be put to is to make a martyr of him." This same idea of the humble value of his services to his country, he expressed, when he was chosen as commissioner to France in his seventieth year, September 27, 1776, as he turned to Dr. Rush, who sat near him in the Assembly: "I am old and good for nothing; but as the storekeepers say of their remnants of cloth, I am but a fag end, and you may have me for what you propose to give." Appointments were given at the same time to Silas Deane and Arthur Lee, both of whom were absent in Europe, to assist Dr. Franklin with their joint services in the cause of freedom, in the official capacity of recognized agents of the North American Colonies abroad.

The diplomatic activity of Franklin abroad opened his life to the closest scrutiny of those, who were ever watchful to find flaws in the calibre of his ability, which had won for him this post of honor. We can repudiate the accusation made against him, that he never lost an opportunity to grow rich on public money and furthered the appointment of his nephew, Mr. Williams, by quoting his letter to William Lee in regard to this appointment: "Your proposition about appointing agents in the ports shall be laid before the commissioners when they meet. In the meantime I can only say that as to my nephew, Mr. Williams, though I have from long knowledge and experience of him a high opinion of his abilities, activity and integrity, I will have no hand in his appointment or in approving it, not being desirous of his being in any way concerned in that business."¹⁸

Again he can be defended against the slightest fraudulent intentions, by this fact, that he sent a personal account of his expenditures to Congress, November 29, 1788, after his arrival in Philadelphia: "In pursuance of this resolution, and as soon as Mr. Barclay was at leisure from more pressing business, I rendered to him all my accounts, which he examined and stated methodically. By his statement he found a balance due me on the 4 of May 1785, of 7533 livres nineteen sols 3 den., which by

¹⁸ *North American Review*, April, 1830. (Printed in Sparks' *Benjamin Franklin*, Vol. III, p. 30.)

mistake I had overcharged—about three pence halfpenny sterling.”¹⁹

If we cannot exactly agree with the high opinion of Matthew Arnold, who considers Franklin “a man who was the very incarnation of sanity and clear sense, a man the most remarkable, it seems to me, whom America has produced”, still we can accord to him the distinction of the possession of the greatest administrative genius of the time, when such a man of judicial powers was so sorely needed. He never swerved in the great cause of independence, even at the cost of war, which was in every respect opposed to his peace-loving nature.

(a) *His Diplomatic Correspondence.*

His diplomatic correspondence may not be as entertaining as that of Adams from Holland, or the Spanish letters of Jay, which he enlivened with pithy bits of European gossip, yet those of Dr. Franklin are unique in clearness of style, brevity, and all the essentials for the accomplishment of their varied purposes. In short, they are just as typical and characteristic of the many-sided and versatile personality, as is the *Autobiography* or his more personal letters. They teem with a wholesome wit, a healthy wisdom, coupled with the knack of saying just the tactful thing at the critical moment. He knew to the most exact fraction the capacity of the heavy sack of diplomatic nuts and filled it so that it could stand upright, after he had carefully balanced it, and better still he could crack the nuts within and share them with his countrymen most generously. He always hit the nail upon the head, and if the hammer slipped and hit his fingers, he hunted some timely maxim and kept his own counsel.

The Continental Assembly could not have shown sounder judgment than the selection of such a citizen as Franklin for such an important foreign post. For forty years he had been busied in Pennsylvania politics. No man was better acquainted with the conditions of not only this state, but of practically all the habitable sections of the other states. In the position of Post-

¹⁹ Sparks, III; p. 508.

master General, he had visited these districts, traversing a distance of six thousand miles, and his trained eye had readily grasped all the essential details. In the French struggle against the forces of England, he had arranged for the transportation of troops by securing the services of the much needed wagons of the Pennsylvania farmers. Was his brain ever free from some new innovation for the betterment of the Colonies? The results of his well devised schemes are widely known, to the present day throughout the world. Not only had the State of Pennsylvania felt the benefits of his services, but for a number of years he had been the spokesman of Continental affairs in the mother country, as representative of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Massachusetts and Georgia. Experience had prepared and reared him in all the intricate arts of efficiency for his position as the American commissioner at the court of France. One of the characteristics, which assured his unfailing success, was, as De Witt expresses it, "he could see in the future and live in the present".²⁰

(b) *Franklin's Visits to Paris.*

1. First Visit, 1767.

Franklin had visited Paris in 1767 and again in 1769, as an honored guest, and he was welcomed back in 1776, with a cordiality which proved his growing and permanent popularity. Europe was the target for the guns of American diplomatists. From the coffers of these Powers must come the gold for carrying on the struggle at home. Here the means must be found for supplying the American troops. On this foreign soil were the opportunities for the display of the powers of capable diplomatists. We find American privateers in the ports of Holland, France and Spain, being cargoed for services at home; here the naval tactics were planned, before their coming in touch with Continental conditions. When we carefully examine the political letters of Franklin, we cannot fail to be impressed by the great responsibility which rested upon his shoulders. The loans to the Colonies were intrusted entirely to his hands, in fact they were

²⁰ De Witt, *Jefferson*; p. 59.

paid to him alone. It was to him that Congress had to turn for the payment of the national debts, contracted abroad. He was recognized as the sole agent in Paris, and even although bills were at times directed to Adams, Jay, or Laurens, still to Franklin the ultimate appeal had to be made. His labors seem too intricate for one man to manage alone, but his accounts have proved him to be the master of his duties and tasks. His only secretary, at this time, was his grandson, who might relieve him in copying from drafts, many of which are preserved today, but could not, of course, draft a single official document. If he had been surrounded by congenial colleagues, his heavy burdens might have been greatly lightened, but he was handicapped by assistants, who were jealous, selfish and suspicious and only too ready to be a hindrance to his plans. France had warranted confidence in the honesty and integrity of Franklin and no matter who his colleagues may have been, he was the one personality whose influence and persuasion resulted in the friendly alliance with her. This high estimate of Franklin we can judge from two letters, written from the Count de Vergennes, Minister of Foreign Affairs, to the French Minister at Philadelphia: "As to Dr. Franklin, his conduct leaves Congress nothing to desire. It is as zealous and patriotic as it is wise and circumspect." Again on February 15, 1781, "If you are questioned respecting the opinion of Dr. Franklin, you may without hesitation say, that we esteem him as much on account of his patriotism as the wisdom of his conduct; and it has been owing in a great part to this cause, and the confidence we put in the veracity of Dr. Franklin, that we have determined to relieve the pecuniary embarrassment in which he has been placed by Congress."

Of the two visits of Franklin to Paris, 1767 and 1769, there seems to be a certain reticence in his letters of this time. We do know that the companion of these journeys was the "steady and good friend Sir John Pringle", who also had been his fellow-traveller on the visit to the Netherlands and Germany in the summer of 1766. The only letter written, while he was in France 1767, is that in which he describes his experiences to his clever friend, Miss Stevenson. His electrical experiments had already

been the herald of his entrée into France, where they had been carefully investigated by the abbés Nollet and D'Alibard. Yet it is not exactly true to ascribe the cordial welcome which the scientist received as entirely due to his electrical innovations. The far-sighted Durand, no doubt, clearly saw the diplomacy of favoring the agent of the Colonies in England. Franklin felt this underlying motive and was successful in visiting Paris, without the British government being cognizant of his absence. Durand's visits to him, at this time, opened up the way for his acceptance into the social whirl of the metropolis. Franklin wisely saw the reason for his popularity, as he expresses it: "I fancy that intriguing nation would like very well on occasion to blow up the coals between Britain and her colonies; but I hope we shall give them no opportunity." It is to the political writings of Franklin, that he owed more than anything else, the approval of a nation, which at this time was so permeated by the influence of such economists as Quesnay and the Marquis de Mirabeau, the masters with their disciples, M. Dupont de Nemours, the life-long friend of Franklin, and the Abbé Baudeau. The French editor of Franklin's works, James Barbeu Dubourg, was also an active force among these men. We have the positive proof of this visit to France in a letter to his son, in which he carefully admonishes him to maintain the utmost secrecy on the matter. From London dated October 9, 1767, he writes to Mrs. Deborah Franklin, "My dear Child, I returned yesterday Evening from Paris safe and well, having had an exceeding pleasant Journey, and quite recovered my health." He returned to London on October 1st, and Dupont informed him shortly after of the publication of some of his writings on the conditions in the Colonies, which he had taken the liberty of presenting thus to the public in translation. (M. Dubourg had been the recipient of these Franklin papers and had passed them on their way to Dupont.

2. Franklin's Second Visit, 1769.

In July, 1769, Franklin visited Paris again. The only mention of this journey is a letter addressed to Samuel Cooper, of Boston: "I have just returned from France, where I find our

dispute much attended to, several of our pamphlets being translated and printed there, among others my Examination and the *Farmers' Letters*, with two of my pieces annexed, of which last I send you a copy. In short all Europe, except Britain, appears to be on our side." From subsequent correspondence we know, that Franklin arranged for an official French translation of his works with Dubourg. Franklin was again in London by September 1st.

3. Franklin's Third Visit to Paris.

Franklin left Philadelphia on October 26, 1776. He arrived on the French shore on November 29th. The *Reprisal*, under Captain Wilkes, after carrying off two prizes, landed Franklin with his two grandsons at Auray on December 3rd. They proceeded by post to Nantes, where they arrived on the 7th, then reaching Paris on the 21st. Perhaps some of the delay was due to Franklin's condition. "Being poorly nourished", as he says on the *Reprisal*: "I was very weak on my arrival."

He took up his abode at the Hotel d'Hambourg, in the Rue de l'Université and remained there several weeks, removing then to the luxurious hotel of Monsieur Ray de Chaumont in the suburb of Passy. The proprietor refused any rent for Franklin's apartments, until the independence of the American Colonies was established, and being a true politician in every sense of the word, Franklin readily accepted this most generous offer and we find him maintaining his establishment, according to Mr. Adams, in a most extravagant manner. To be sure, he kept servants in sufficient number to entertain any guests who felt inclined to enjoy his kind hospitality, and with full rights of an American ambassador rode to the city in a carriage drawn by his own horses; but the wide display of unnecessary extravagant luxury can not be proved.

When his arrival was known throughout Europe, his numerous friends began to welcome him back to the Old World, and one of the first was the German naturalist and physician at the court of Vienna, Jan Ingen Housz, who assured Franklin that he hoped he had come to re-establish the amicable feeling between the mother country and her colonies.

(c) Joseph II's Visit to Paris.

While at the French court, at this time, there was war between the schools of music, led by Glück and Piccini, the brother of Marie Antoinette, Emperor Joseph II visited Paris. He expressed his keen desire to see Franklin and though the Abbé Niccoli, the representative of the Duke of Tuscany, did his utmost to bring about a meeting of these men, fate intervened. The abbé sent an invitation to Franklin to take a cup of chocolate on Wednesday, May 28th. Franklin was of the opinion that this would give to a meeting with the Emperor the appearance of pure accident. Turgot was present with Franklin, who writes of the affair as follows: "The Emperor did not appear, and the Abbé since tells me that the number of other persons who occasionally visited him that morning, of which the Emperor was informed prevented his coming; that at twelve, understanding they were gone, he came but I was gone also." A meeting of Emperor Joseph and Franklin is recorded most interestingly in a book entitled *Joseph II, Emperor of Germany, and Benjamin Franklin. Joseph and Benjamin. A Conversation Translated from a French Manuscript*. London, MDCCLXXXVII, an account of which runs thus.

"The interview between the Emperor of Germany and his American Excellency was kept a secret; and that as well as what passed at the interview was unknown even to the numerous spies about Paris and Versailles, and except for the accident which discovered all, it might perhaps not have been known for some years, that these two remarkable men ever saw each other." The attitude of the author, whoever he may be, is thoroughly English, tinged with the strongest prejudice against France, "which always has had and always will have designs upon the liberty or importance of other nations". "During the residence of the great American negotiator, Benjamin Franklin, at Paris, he received a letter written by the Imperial Joseph, who was then also in that capitol, under an assumed name. The letter was expressive of that high esteem, which great abilities gain even from the rulers of nations, and intimated the intention of the royal stranger, who had long wished to have personal acquaintance with his American

Excellency; and who intended to wait upon him the next day, not as Emperor, but as a private person, desirous of acquiring knowledge by the conversation of a man, who had distinguished himself as a philosopher and politician, by sharing in the dangers of a contest, which had added the liberty to his country." . . .

. . . "The old philosopher, who had long been accustomed to the company of the great, and who had in every sense of the word, except he was not rich, become one of that order himself, embraced with more than ordinary pleasure the opportunity of conversing with such a man whose abilities and unremitting attention to the promotion of human happiness had long attracted his esteem. The urbanity which the political hero of the Western world, had acquired during a long life, added to that great sense of propriety, for which he is eminently distinguished, determined him to return an answer in person. He waited upon the illustrious stranger at his hotel immediately. It was agreed that they should enjoy each other's company for one day at a small retired spot a few miles distant from Paris, where the old philosopher used to rest himself from the fatigues that accompany a political life." . . . "On the following Saturday they were to have their interview. Scarcely had the venerable old man arrived from Paris, when his Imperial Visitor alighted from a post-chaise at the gate. The Imperial Joseph, forgetting the ideal distinctions of rank, threw his arms around the old man and embraced him with a cordiality and sincerity that is seldom manifested or felt by princes.

"The two walked out into a small garden, which, though not elegant, was sequestered and agreeable; and nature blessed this extraordinary confidence with her most delightful day. Here did these illustrious characters meet to discuss their opinions and exchange their sentiments. They proceeded to philosophize upon human conditions." One idea discussed runs as follows:

"The King led the conversation by this remark—'If I were not Emperor of Germany, I should rejoyce in being an Emperor of America.' He then continued with a subject of French aggressiveness and the need of state funds which led Franklin to reply: 'Your subjects, the Germans, tenacious as they are of customs,

are more easy to reform than Americans. Your people have learned the habit of obedience, which will overcome prejudice; but to a lawless and ungovernable disposition the Americans add prejudices peculiar to themselves; and if there was a man who could benefit his country by good code of laws, the Americans would not adopt them!" " This conversation was to be repeated on the third day, but no evidence of it is given.

The author satisfies our curiosity as to the means which disclose this conversation with this explanation: "All that at present can be said on this subject is that Accident, but not dishonorable, not unfair means, has brought this important conversation before the eyes of the public."

Franklin in reality, highly esteemed the Emperor Joseph, if we can judge from a letter dated Passy, April 29, 1785, to Jan Ingen Housz: "Your account of the Emperor's condescending conversation with you concerning me, is pleasing. I respect very much the character of that, Monarch, and think this if I were one of his Subjects, he would find me a good one."²¹

(d) *Diplomatic Relations With Austria and Prussia.*

1. Austria.

Stating briefly the mutual feelings of Austria and the American colonies we can say, that "Prince Kaunitz saw in the close and intimate friendship between Franklin and Ingen Housz (the Court Physician of Vienna) a means to perpetrate a treaty at some future time between their two representative powers. And there can be no doubt that such a result was due to this intimacy."²²

The attitude of the Colonies can be judged from the following letter taken from an unsigned draft copy:

"The United States of America to all to whom these present shall come send Greeting. Whereas his most Christian Majesty our great and beloved friend and ally hath informed us by his minis-

²¹ *American Philosophical Society* (Franklin Papers).

²² *Die Beziehungen Österreichs zu den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika*, H. Schlitter; pp. 65-66.

ter plenipotentiary whom he hath appointed to reside near us that their Imperial Majesties the Empress of Russia and the Emperor of Germany actuated by sentiments of humanity and a desire to put a stop to the calamities of War have offered their mediation to the belligerent powers in order to promote peace. Now know ye we desirous as far as depends upon us to put a stop to the effusions of blood and convince all the powers of Europe that we wish for nothing more ardently than to terminate the war by a safe and honourable peace relying on the justice of our cause and persuaded of the wisdom and equity of their imperial Majesties who ever have so generously interposed their good offices for promoting so salutary a measure have constituted and appointed and by these present do constitute and appoint . . . the Honble. John Adams late delegate in Congress from the state of Massachusetts, the Honble Benjamin Franklin our minister at the Court of France, the Honble John Jay late president of Congress and now our minister at the Court of Madrid, the Honble. Henry Laurens formerly president of Congress and commissioner & sent as our agent to the United provinces of the Netherlands and the Honble. Thomas Jefferson governor of the commonwealth of Virginia our Minister plenipotentiary giving and granting to them or such of them as shall assemble or in case of death, absence, indisposition or other impediment of the others to any one of them full power and authority in our name and on our behalf, in concurrence with his most Christian Majesty to accept in due form the mediation of their Imperial Majesties, the Empress of Russia and the Emperor of Germany. In testimony whereof we have caused these present to be signed by our president and sealed with his seal. Done at Philadelphia, this fifteenth day of June in the year of our Lord one thousand seven and eighty one and in the fifth year of our Independence. By the United States in Congress assembled."²³

Benjamin Franklin in a letter to Thomas Mifflin dated Passy, December 25, 1783, gives his intentions to take official action. The letter reads thus:

²³ *Papers of Continental Congress*, Vol. I, p. 345.

"I shall immediately proceed, in pursuance of the first Instructions, to take the proper steps for acquainting his Imperial Majesty of Germany with the Disposition of Congress, having some reason to believe the Overture may be acceptable. His Minister here is of late extremely civil to me, and we are on very good terms. I leave likewise an Intimate Friend at that Court."²⁴

Commissioners for the United States of America to promote peace between the Empress of Russia and the Emperor of Germany were appointed by Congress officially thus:

"The United States of America to all to whom these present shall come send Greeting. Whereas his most Christian Majesty our great and beloved friend and ally, hath informed us by his minister plenipotentiary whom he hath appointed to reside near us that their imperial Majesties, the Empress of Russia and the Emperor of Germany actuated by sentiments of humanity and a desire to put a stop to the calamities of War have offered their mediation to the belligerent powers in order to promote peace.

Commissioners Appointed.

John Adams,
Hon. Benjamin Franklin,
John Jay,
Henry Laurens,
Thomas Jefferson.

Giving and granting to them or any one of them full power to accept the mediation of the aforesaid powers.

June 15, 1781."²⁵

Orders to negotiate a treaty read thus:

"By the United States in Congress Assembled.

"October 29th, 1783.

"To the ministers plenipotentiary of the United States of America at the Court of Versailles empowered to negotiate a peace to any one or more of them.

"First. You are instructed and authorized to announce to

²⁴ Library of Congress. Smyth, Vol. IX, p. 67.

²⁵ Library of Congress.

his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Germany or his Ministers the high sense which the United States in Congress Assembled entertain of his exalted character and eminent virtues and their earnest desire to cultivate his friendship and to enter into a Treaty of Amity and Commerce for the mutual advantage of the Subjects of his Imperial Majesty and the Citizens of the United States."²⁶

2. Prussia.

It was William Carmichael who made a visit to Berlin in order to arouse the interest of the Prussian Minister Schulenburg in the cause of the American Colonies. His journey was not at this time an official one, but the following letter of recommendation from Montessuy shows the encouragement which that government promised Carmichael.

The following letters have been copied by the author from official photographs of the originals in the Prussian State Archives in Berlin, through the kindness of Professor Learned:

Montessuy, the Prussian Minister at Paris, wrote to Schulenburg, the minister at the Prussian capitol at Berlin, on the 10th of October, 1776: "Je prends La Liberté de vous adresser Mr. William Carmichael du Maryland, qui se trouvant icy avec Le Deputé des Colonies Anglaises s'est décidé lui Les demands qui je Lui ai gaittu et à ma sollicitation a se rendu de Votre Excellence—Je désire beaucoup qu'il puisse, établir quelques Branches d' Commerce de La Prusse." Already, as early as the 29th of July that same year, this agent had addressed a letter to his Majesty: "Les agens des Colonies Anglaises, qui sont depuis peu ici, m'ont fait demander une quantité assez considerable de Munition de guerre telles, que fusils Poudre et Canons, sans cesse occupé de procurer a Vos États, Sire un débouché avantageux du Product de ses Manufactures je serais flatté, d'en pouvoir tirer ces objets si cela ne contrarie point les vues de V. M. J' attendrai donc les ordres, qu'elle est suppliée de me faire passer à ces sujets—Ne serait-il pas possible, par suite de cette opération, de faire

²⁶ *Wharton Diplomatic Correspondence*, Vol. V, p. 545. (Original letter signed by Chas. Thomson.)

un traité de commerce entre les sujets de V. M. et les Colonies Anglaises de l'Amérique, dont la balance ne pourrait être qu'en faveur de Vos Etats, qu'en tireraient, un double avantage par un débouché considerable des Matières premières et un augmentation de Marine." Thus we see that this minister personally favored the propositions which were offered by Mr. Carmichael, but the Baron Schulenburg was personally a little sceptical of this enthusiastic presentation of the matter and we find this admonition in a letter addressed to Montessuy, on the 16th of October: "En attendant les réponses détaillés des Agens des dites Colonies je vous conseille serieusement, Monsieur, d'aller bride en main, et de prendre toutes les précautions possibles, pour ne vous compromettre en aucune façon, ou qu'il est absolument nécessaire de sonder le terrain avant que de s'engager à la moindre chose." The arrival of the American envoy in Berlin caused much inquiry on the matter of his reception on the part of the representative of the Prussian court. The king received the following from his minister: "Si à l'arriver du Sr. Carmichael je dois entrer avec lui et en quelle qualité je dois le recevoir?" Further he says in a letter to the King October 21, 1776: "Comme le dit Carmichael peut arriver tous les jours, et que sa qualité d'Agent muni d'une Patente du Député général des Colonies Anglaises en Amérique, pourrait mettre de l'embarras à cette négociation et même ne peut convenir aux intentions de Votre Majesté, il serait sans doute plus convenable de ne recevoir le dit Carmichael qu'en qualité de simple negociant." On the margin of this letter is the response of Frederic: "Bené mais cela ne durera pas parceque les Anglais ont battu Les Colonies." Again the King treats this matter of commerce between Prussia and the American Colonies, in a letter of the 2nd of December, in which he emphasizes the impossibility of a treaty: "quelques favorables, que paroissent les propositions & les idées de commerce du Sr. Carmichael, on faut cependant rien précipiter avec lui. Les réaliser par un traité formel de commerce c'est chose impossible; & un commerce direct à établir avec sa patrie Me paroît sujet également à mille difficultés."

William Carmichael addressed the Minister Schulenburg in the following letter:

"Havre, 19th January, 1777.

" . . . Your excellency will no doubt be surprised at not sooner hearing from me after my return to France, the truth is, that I wished to be able to give you some satisfaction on the subject I had the honor of conversing with you on at Berlin and at the same time to give you the real state of our Situation in America. The Arrival of Mr. Franklin at Paris, almost at the instant of my return to that City with the multiplicity of affairs in which, we were consequently involved prevented me from receiving such a State of our prices and our Shipping for Exportation, and would put it in my power to tell you whether or not we could comply with the terms proposed by Mr. Magusch.

"Other arrivals with the opinion of the most Intelligent of our Merchts. together with our inability of gaining admission on easy terms with Ports fixed on, unless we would precisely assure a full supply of that Nation, now oblige me to my great regret to tell your Excellency, that I see no other method of your Administration supplying itself, than by adopting the mode I had the honor to recommend to Monsieur Magusch, which is to send Ships with Cargoes of your Manufactures to purchase & import it themselves. Our Sailors, in the first place are engaged in Privateering or in the Service of the Public, to which they are excited by the prodigious Captures made on the English. The Public by these had paid in the middle of last October, the whole Expense of Equipping & Insuring our marine, and Individuals had amassed large fortunes. In the next place, your Excellency will please to observe that the whole of our Tobacco & great part of our rice trade was carried on by British Ships and British Sailors. The Southern Colonies attended very little to other Commerce, than that in the West Indies. When they saw our Intercourse with Britain, heard we had to look out for 6 or eight hundred ships to Export our Produce & to search employment for the same number. This their transportation service has done effectually for their subjects, while it impoverishes the State. In this respect England shows superior wisdom, for it is lavish

of blood and treasure to retain while with open arms we court the rest of Europe, but your nation particularly to accept the riches derived from our commerce. The articles most necessary for America (woolens & Linnens) your countries manufacture. The demand being very great with us. The price for these is enormous & having little opportunity of exportation our produce sells for little or nothing. By our last advices Tobacco was at 7 & 9 shillings sterling per ct. & our other produce proportionally low. Without appearing to cut at all in the matter, Administration must employ some of your richest merchants, at first to supply it. The advantages they will gain will excite others. And as a *direct* Commerce will commence from Emden the reputation of that Port once established & the channel of trade fixed there of course it will be the mart of Germany for our whole exports. Would we meet with encouragement from his Majesty, your Excellency will readily see, that the trade of Hambourgh may be so molested, as to make its Merchants go to Emden, for similar reasons to those which the Merchants of Bruges, Antwerp & Ostend to repair to Amsterdam & Rotterdam. As to the State of our Public affairs, the campaign is like to end more favorable for us, than we imagined at the moment we declared our independence. And I can assure Your Excellency that Great Britain has done us more harm by her Gazette & Embassadors, than by her fleets and Armies: for while British Administration can persuade Europe, that our Subjugation is certain that persuasion disables us from making such effective resistance as we otherwise should do, however the activity of our Merchants & the adventurous boldness of our Privateers enable us to continue our operations thro' the winter, and we shall open the campaign now with fairer prospects than we have ever hitherto had. For not really meaning from the first what our Enemies have charged us with & since obliged us to declare Independence our operations even for defence were delayed by the Timidity of some & the prejudices of others. These are all removed since we have fully discovered the rooted obstinacy of the British administration & the passive tameness of the Nation. Each of whom we now regard with that kind of Animosity as will eternally keep alive

the flame of war untill we are separated forever. I beg leave to assure Your Excellency that this very general sketch of our present situation & disposition is founded on a detail of facts and correspondence, which more than justify all I have said. I beg leave to repeat what I had to say to your Excellency at Berlin that as it is my duty to promote a commercial Intercourse between the Nations of Europe & the United States, so it will be my particular pleasure & glory to have done it with his Majesty's dominion; and in this respect if I can be of any service, I shall receive your Excellency's command with all respect & pleasure. I have the honor to be

"Your Excellency's most obedient humble sert.

"WM. CARMICHAEL.

"Should I have the honor to hear from Your Excellency it will be made under cover to . . ."

The German translation of this was sent by Magusch and forwarded to the king by Schulenburg.²⁷

In response to a letter from the Prussian minister regarding an ambassador from the American Colonies we read:

"Paris, 19th of April, 1777.

"Sir:

"We received the Letter which you did us the honor to write us the 15th ult. and should earlier have replied particularly thereto, but from the Daily expectation we had of receiving Orders from Congress of the United States on this important Subject. We have now their commands to inform his Prussian Majesty's Ambassador here, that they propose to send a minister to your respected Court with all Commercial Expedition, properly empowered to treat upon Affairs of Importance; and that we are in the meantime instructed and authorized by Congress to solicit the Friendship of your Court, to request that it would afford no Aid to their Enemies, but use its good Offices to prevent the landing of Troops by other Powers to be transported to America for their destruction, and to offer the free commerce

²⁷ Photographs of original letter.

of the United States to the Subjects of Prussia. . . . We have taken the earliest Opportunity of obeying those commands. But considering the great importance of establishing a free Commerce, between the two Countries as soon as possible, and confident that every Objection may be obviated and the wished for intercourse opened and established on the most certain & beneficial Grounds to promote the Interest of both Countries. We propose that one of us should wait on your Excellency, as soon as conveniently may be done to explain reasonably the situation of America, the Nature, Extent & Importance of its Commerce, and the method by which it may be carried on with Prussia to mutual advantage.

"In the proposed interview we are confident, the Difficulties mentioned by your Excellency may be surmounted and a very considerable Part of American Commerce be turned to Prussia by measures neither Dangerous nor Expensive. With great Respect we have the honor to be

"Your Excellency's

Most obedient

& most humble Servants,

"B. FRANKLIN,

"SILAS DEANE,

"ARTHUR LEE.

"Ministers Plenipotentiary from the Congress
of the United States of America."²⁸

In Professor Marion Dexter Learned's *Guide to the Manuscript Materials Relating to American History in the German State Archives*, Washington, 1912, six important references to Franklin are found.

I. *Prussian Archives*, Berlin (p. 30).

1. *Plein Pouvoir*, given to Adams, Franklin and Jefferson, to effect the treaty, signed by Thomas Mifflin and Chas. Thomson, Sec., May 12, 1784 (p. 31).

2. Thulemeier to the king, relating to declaring the port of Emden or Stettin free, with a copy of the communication of

²⁸ Library of Congress.

Adams, Franklin and Jefferson, requesting free ports, dated Passy, January, 1785 (2 pp.). Addressed to Thulemeier at the Hague. The Hague, February 11, 1785 (p. 32).

3. Thulemeier to the king on Franklin's signing of the treaty and on ratification by Congress, enclosing a copy of the English translation of the *Plein Pouvoir*, etc.

4. *Bavarian Archives*, Munich, 5027. Reference made to Franklin's return from Paris to America, August 1, 1783.

5. *Prussian Archives*, Breslau, Rep. 199, C.-O. (Journal über engangene Cabinets Ordres), No. 4, 1778-1783. Fol. 366 refers to Franklin in Paris and the commercial relations between Prussia and America.

6. *Königlich-Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv*, in Dresden, 2750 Com. XXXVa, Bl. 47, gives Mirabeau's eulogy on Franklin's death.

"Königlich-Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, No. 349, H. St. zu

"Dresden, den 26. März, 1913.

"Auf Ihr Schreiben vom 15. dieses Monats teilt Ihnen die unterzeichnete Direktion mit, dass an der von Ihnen bezeichneten Aktenstelle sich kein Bericht über den Tod Benjamin Franklins vorfindet. Auf Bl. 450 der von Ihnen angeführten Akten ist aber als Beilage zu einem Berichte des Gesandten Rivière die Rede wiedergegeben, durch die Mirabeau der französischen Nationalversammlung den Tod Franklins mitteilte. Abschrift davon befindet sich umstehend.

"Direktion des Königlich-Sächsischen Hauptstaatsarchivs.

"POSSE.

"Fräulein Beatrice M. Victory,

"cand. phil., Philadelphia."

"ABSCHRIFT!

"*Discours de Monsieur le Comte de Mirabeau.*

"Franklin est mort . . . Il est restourné au sein de la Divinité, le Genie qui affranchit l'Amerique et versa sur l'Europe des torrens de Lumieres.

"Le sage que deux mondes reclamant, l'homme que se dis-

putent l'histoire des Sciences et l'histoires des Empires, tenait sans doute un rang bien élevé dans l'espece humaine.

"Assez longtems les Cabinets politiques ont notifié la mort de ceux qui ne furent grands que dans leur éloge funèbre assez longtems l'étiquette des Cours a proclamé des deuils hypocrites : les Nations ne doivent porter que le Deuil de leur bienfaiteurs ; les Représentans des Nations ne doivent recommander à leurs hommages que les heros de l'humanité.

"Le Congrès a ordonné, dans les quatorze Etats de la Confédération un Deuil de deuz mois pour la mort de Francklin, et l'Amerique acquitte en ce moment ce tribut de vénération et de reconnoissance pour l'un des Peres de sa Constitution.

"Ne seroit-il pas digne de vous, Messieurs, de nous unir à l'Amerique dans cet acte religieux de participer à cet hommage rendu à la Face de l'Univers, et aux Droits de l'homme, et au Philosophe qui a le plus contribué à en propager la conquête ? l'Antiquité eut élevé des Autels au puissant Genie, qui, au profit des Mortels, embrassant dans sa pensée le Ciel et la terre, sut dompter la Foudre et les Tirans. l'Europe éclairée et libre doit du moins un témoignage de souvenir et de regret à l'un des plus-grands hommes qui aient jamais servi la Philosophie et la Liberté.

"Je propose qu'il soit descreté que l'Assemblée Nationale parlera pendant trois jours le deuil de Benjamin Franklin."

In the extracts from the commissioners' letters to the Committee of Congress we read, Paris, April 28, 1777: "As the minister from Prussia may not soon arrive and that court has shown a disposition to treat, by entering into a correspondence with us we have thought it might be well that one of us should visit it immediately, to improve its present good disposition, and obtain if possible, the privilege of their ports to trade and fit ships in, and to steal our prizes. Mr. Lee has readily undertaken this journey."²⁹ (Price)

The following is the commissioners' letter to the Prussian minister in regard to this appointment, dated Paris, April 19,

²⁹ Library of Congress.

1778, and signed by the three agents, B. Franklin, Silas Deane and Arthur Lee:

"Sir: . . . We have their commands (the orders of Congress of the United States) to inform his Prussian Majesty's Ambassador here that they propose to send a minister to your respective court with all convenient expedition, properly empowered to treat upon affairs of importance, and that we are in the meantime instructed and authorized by Congress to solicit the friendship of your court, to request that it would offer no aid to their enemies, but use its good offices to prevent the landing of troops by other powers to be transported to America for their destruction, and to offer the free commerce of the United States to the subject of Prussia.

"We have taken the earliest opportunity of obeying these commands. But considering the great importance of establishing a free commerce between the two countries as soon as possible, and confident that every objection may be obviated, and the wished-for intercourse opened and established on the most certain and beneficial grounds to promote the interests of both countries, we propose that one of us shall wait on your excellency as soon as conveniently may be done, to explain personally the situation of America, the nature, extent and importance of its commerce and the methods by which it may be carried on with Prussia to mutual advantage. In the proposed interview we are confident the difficulties mentioned by your excellency may be surmounted, and a very considerable of American commerce be turned to Prussia by measures neither dangerous or expensive."

Arthur Lee, the successor of Carmichael, was selected as the suitable envoy to be sent to Berlin. "Sanguine in temperment, credulous, hasty in action", he demonstrated his nervous spontaneity in persistent diplomatic aggressiveness. He informed Schulenburg of his intended trip as follows: "Sir: In consequence of the letter, with in conjunction with my brother commissioners, Dr. Franklin and Mr. Deane, I have the honor of writing your excellency, I intend to depart from hence to Berlin before this time. But an accident having happened, which inevitably prevents me from setting out, I am under great anxiety

lest your excellency should impute my delay to a wont of that perfect respect which I ought to feel for your excellency's court and character." He continues by giving assurance that his delay will not be prolonged one moment longer than positively necessary. Schulenburg replied to this on the 20th, acknowledging the receipt of his letter and also that on the part of the three American agents, Franklin, Deane and himself: "I still apprehend difficulties which may interfere in the present circumstances with the establishment of a direct commerce between his Majesty's subjects and the Colonies of North America, and that I consider our Correspondence on this subject rather as preliminary to what may come to pass than as negotiations from which any immediate advantage may be expected."³⁰ He consoles him in regard to his forced detention, by the fact that at the best, the matter will be one of uncertainty and will make the slowest strides of progress. Lee does not in any way read between the lines, but acting upon the responsibility of his mission, he proceeded to Berlin and informed the Prussian minister of his arrival on June 6th and asked for an interview.

The arrogance of Arthur Lee's spirit must have revolted at the attitude of the foreign court of Prussia with its conservatism. On May 8, 1777, he wrote Baron Schulenburg in regard to his intended visit to Berlin. The reply from the Prussian minister gave no encouragement, as we read in the letter from him on May 20th, speaking of the forced delay of which Lee had written, "this leads me to believe, sir, that you have no reason to distress yourself on account of this delay . . . when you defer for some time an affair the success of which can not most probably but be slow." Lee reached Vienna on leaving Munich, and informed the commissioners of the condition of the court in this city in a letter dated the 27th of May: "There is a cold tranquility here that bodes no good. It is not possible to quicken this German indifference." He reached Berlin on

³⁰Library of Congress, *Wharton Diplomatic Correspondence*, Vol. II. p. 306; *Sparks' Diplomatic Correspondence*, Vol. III, p. 418.

See papers now first published from original MSS. by Philadelphia *Seventy-Six Society*, 1855.

June 4th and was received in conference by the minister, since the king was absent at this time from the Prussian capitol. In fact had he been in the vicinity, he would by no means have received this representative of the Colonies. He sent lists of commodities, which might be an incentive for infusing an enthusiasm in the venture of establishing a commerce, but the condition of the Prussian fleet at this period, as Frederic repeatedly asserts in his letters, was such as to warrant the utmost caution on the part of his country. The theft of Lee's papers in Berlin by an English emissary and their immediate return, is a story that has been repudiated and argued to the detriment of the American's diplomatic caution and defended again, as an accident entirely beyond his jurisdiction. The success of his mission he clearly states in a letter to the commissioners in Paris, dated the 15th of June, Berlin: "The letters you have received from hence will show you how the wind blows here; I have tried all in my power to make it change—hitherto in vain. In ten days I shall set out on my return. There can not be a state of more quiescence than prevails in this place; what is merely commercial is planned, but whether it will be adopted remains to be determined." At last, thoroughly disgusted with his treatment by the Prussian court, he retired to Paris in July. The attitude of Lee, however, suffered no whit in its aggressiveness, for we find him missing no opportunity to offer, by letters, to Schulenburg any inducement for the encouragement of trade. November 13th of the same year he wrote to this minister as follows: ". . . a commission has been received appointing William Lee commissioner of Congress to the court of Berlin, with power to negotiate a treaty of amity and commerce with the King of Prussia. The great knowledge of this gentleman in commerce will enable him to throw far more light on that subject than I was able to communicate." This was received by the court in the most indifferent manner. "As to the commission of Mr. William Lee, the king having repeatedly declared his sentiments respecting the actual difficulties attending a commercial connection with America, notwithstanding his constant good disposition towards the Colonies,

can not possibly conjecture, as circumstances have not changed, what proposition Mr. Lee can make more acceptable to his majesty, nor consequently what can be the object of his mission." William Lee in Berlin had less influence than his brother, and had to remain in incognito in this city; that is, he enjoyed none of the public honors that attended his diplomatic dignity. Schulenburg assured him of the king's interest in all things that pertained to the growth of his trade. "The king, who always graciously receives the news you send me, and expresses his satisfaction when it is in your favor, had seen the passage of your brother's letter, and I can assure you, sir, that his majesty will not be the last power to acknowledge your independency; but you must feel yourself that it is not natural that he should be the first, and that France, whose commercial and political interests are more immediately connected with yours, should set the example." At the breaking out of the war between the emperor and Frederic, William Lee withdrew from Vienna and retired to Frankfort to await the final action of the various Powers. It was evident to the mind of Lee that it was inopportune for either the court of Berlin or Vienna to take an open part with the cause of the Colonies, for fear that Hanover would join the forces of the adversary.

We can sum up these endeavors of the commissioners to these courts in a word, which embraces failure and yet a certain degree of success in the final move, which resulted in the establishment of a trade between the Powers and the independent thirteen American States.

"Wednesday, June 6, 1781.

"Resolved That the Minister Plenipotentiary be authorised and instructed to concern in behalf of these United States, with his most Christian Majesty in accepting the mediation proposed by the Empress of Russia and the Emperor of Germany. But to accede to no Treaty of Peace, which shall not be such as may effectually secure the Independence and sovereignty of the thirteen States according to the form and effect of the Treaties subsisting between the said States and his most Christian

Majesty, and in which said Treaties shall not be left in their full force and vality."³¹

This is a proof of the reasons made by the ministers plenipotentiary on behalf of securing the desired treaty of peace. These ministers were John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, Henry Laurens and Thomas Jefferson.

On May 7, 1784, we find:

"Resolved That it will be advantageous to the United States to conclude such treaties with Russia, the Court of Vienna, Prussia, Denmark, Saxony, Hamburg, Great Britain, Spain, Portugal, Genoa, Tuscany, Rome, Naples, Venice, Sardinia, and the Ottoman ports."³²

Benjamin Franklin authorized, thus made the final move on the chessboard of diplomacy with the following letter on May 26, 1785, addressed to Baron Thulemeier, the Prussian minister:

"Sir—We received the letter you did us the Honor of Writing the 3rd inst. and are happy to find that all points of the proposed Treaty being through the King's Goodness and Condescension now agreed, nothing remains but to transcribe it fairly and to sign & exchange the Copies according to our Powers, & the usual Forms. But the Signatures of at least two of our number being necessary, & Mr. Adams who has acted with us in the whole transaction being called away by his mission to the Court of G. Britain and another of us rendered unable by Age and a painful malady to perform a hard Journey, there is a Difficulty in Meeting with Your Excellency for the purpose either of any intermediate Place, or at that of your Residence which in respect to the King we might otherwise willing do. We therefore propose for your consideration, whether tho not usual the acts would be equally valid, if in case it should not suit you to come to Paris (where however we should be glad to see you) we were to sign separately the Instrument, dating our Signatures with Time and Place, & Exchanging by a Special Messenger who might deliver to you that which shall be signed by us, to be then

³¹ Library of Congress.

³² *Secret Journals*, Vol. III, p. 222 ff.

signed and kept by you and received that signed by your Excellency, we can afterwards sign here, he witnessing both. We request your Opinion & Determination and are with great respect. . . ."

John Adams, as American agent at The Hague negotiated with Baron Thulemeier a treaty with Prussia. The new form sent by Congress had necessitated a revision of the Prussian treaty to so large an extent that almost new negotiations were found ultimately inevitable. The Prussian minister showed himself interested and active. The treaty was drawn up between the parties concerned. The negotiation was carried on by correspondence between Paris and The Hague and was finally signed by Mr. Adams, Mr. Jefferson and Dr. Franklin in Paris, and by Baron Thulemeier at The Hague, a special understanding having been arranged that the agents might sign in different cities. The Prussian agent says on the 24th of January: "The English language being familiar neither to the Prussian Chancery, nor to the King nor his ministers, it has become necessary that I should make a French translation, and to prove its exactness, I have caused it to be placed by the side of the annexed observations."

Of this treaty with Prussia Franklin writes at St. Germain, twelve miles from Paris, July 18, 1785: "I did my last public act in this Country just before I set out which was signing a Treaty of Amity and Commerce with Prussia."⁸⁴

To John Jay he writes from Philadelphia, September 19, 1785: "I have the honor to acquaint you that I left Paris the 12th of July, and, agreeable to the permission of Congress, am returned to my own country. . . . Our joint letters have already informed you of our late proceedings, to which I have nothing to add, except that the last act I did, as Minister Plenipotentiary for making treaties, was to sign with him two days before I came away, the treaty of friendship, and commerce that had been agreed on with Prussia and which was to be carried to the Hague by Mr. Short, there to be signed by Baron Thule-

⁸⁴ Library of Congress. Smyth, *Benjamin Franklin*, Vol. IX, p. 133.

⁸⁵ Letter in possession of Mrs. E. B. Holden. Printed in Smyth, Vol. IX, p. 363.

meyer on the part of the King, who without the least hesitation had approved and conceded to the new humane articles proposed by Congress."⁸⁵

Franklin writes to his old friend, Jan Ingen Housz, June 27, 1786, from Philadelphia: "You will see in the Treaty we have made with Prussia some marks of my Endeavors to lessen the Calamities of future wars."⁸⁶

Franklin had received offers from other ministers of Germany, as he says: "The Elector of Saxony, as I understand from his Minister, here, has thoughts of sending one to Congress, and proposing a treaty of Commerce and Amity with us. Prussia has likewise an inclination to share in a Trade with America, and the Minister of that Court, tho' he has not directly propos'd a Treaty, his given me a Pacquet of Lists of several sorts of Merchandise they can furnish us with, which he requests me to send to America for the Information of our Merchants."⁸⁷

(e) *Attitude of Louis XVI Toward England and the American Colonies.*

The attitude of Louis XVI toward England in the year 1776 was quite similar to that of Frederic of Prussia. Unlike him, France had been in direct conflict with her enemy in the New World. Europe had been the arena for the wild tigers and lions to tear each other to pieces for seven direful years. The wonderful strategy of the Prussian ruler against the enormous force of Russia and Austria combined, we have already seen. In the face of the glories of Frederic the Great, France found herself humbled and utterly defeated on all sides. Most especially she suffered under the lash of Britain in the North American Colonies; although France was necessarily but awaiting an opportunity to repay the foe in her own coin. Frederic hesitated and refused to give support to the revolutionists, although he felt

⁸⁵ *Private Correspondence of Benjamin Franklin*, Vol. II, p. 425. Smyth, Vol. IX, p. 463, *Journals of Congress*.

⁸⁶ Library of Congress. Printed in Smyth, Vol. IX, p. 520.

⁸⁷ Library of Congress. Printed in Smyth, IX, p. 67. Printed in *Sparks' Diplomatic Correspondence*, Vol. IV, pp. 84, 107, 109.

their indomitable intent to win or die. Would the French monarch venture in where others feared to tread? The French people were already at this early date stirred to their souls by the grand and glorious theme of social equality. The entire nation reached out its hand to the new strugglers for human rights. This was France when Franklin reached Bordeaux. She was a nation hostile to Great Britain by the long continued tradition of centuries, an humbled nation, smarting to recover her lost prestige and to console her wounded pride, a nation whose heart was just beginning to throb with new ideas, but saw these new conceptions trampled on, in danger of being crushed by this hereditary and victorious foe. She was also a nation which saw in the American trade an object worth striving for. It was natural that the United States should turn to France first among the nations of Europe. America naturally could not feel as assured of the other nations, but to lose no opportunity of any possible assistance, she wisely sent her agents to the courts of Austria, Spain, Russia, Prussia and the United Netherlands. In the Seven Years' War Spain had felt keenly the goad of England's enmity, but her possessions in America would not tend to induce her action in any support of the insurgents. Austria and Prussia were more closely affiliated in their relations to France than to the assumptions of Britain. Franklin's task, however, was not an easy one and although the main field of his action was France and, in the narrower term, Paris, still he was the most responsible agent of all those sent, and it was through him as the final authority of the official jurisdiction of the home Congress that any treaties or alliances were formulated.

"It would be difficult to describe the eagerness and delight with which the American envoys, the agents of a people in a state of insurrection against their monarch, were received in France, in the bosom of an ancient monarchy. Nothing could be more striking than the contrast between the luxury of our capitol, the elegance of our fashions, the magnificence of Versailles, the still brilliant remains of Monarchical pride of Louis XIV, and the polish and superb dignity of our nobility on the one hand, and on the other hand, the almost rustic apparel, the

plain but firm demeanor, the free and direct language of the enjoys, whose antique simplicity of dress and appearance seem to have introduced within our walls, in the midst of the effeminate and servile refinement of the eighteenth century, some sages contemporary with Plato or republicans of the age of Cato and Fabius. This unexpected apparition, produced upon us a greater effect in consequence of its novelty, and of its occurring precisely at a period when literature and philosophy had circulated amongst us an usual desire for reforms, a disposition to encourage innovations and the seeds of an ardent attachment to liberty."³⁸

Franklin had readily won the hearts of all, being gifted to read and observe human nature with unfailing accuracy. "His calmness and prudence" were certainly grave faults in the eyes of such an impatient nature as Arthur Lee and several other members of the commission at Paris, but his was the most vital and potent force in the field of diplomacy.

³⁸ *Parton's Franklin*, p. 211.

CHAPTER III.

FRANKLIN'S VISIT TO GERMANY.

(a) *Evidences of His Visit.*

The year of 1766 was a very memorable one for Franklin. In February of that year he underwent his famous examination in the House of Commons, relative to the repeal of the American Stamp Act. There was no event in Franklin's life more creditable to his talents and character or which gave him so much celebrity as this examination before the House of Commons. In that year he was made a member of the Königliche Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften at Göttingen. This fact is authenticated by the *Göttingische Anzeigen von Gelehrten Sachen*, 1766, Vol. I, Art. 110, which reads, dated 13th of September, 1766:

"Die Versammlung der Königlichen Societät am 19. Juli war feierlich, als gewöhnlich. Die beiden Englischen berühmten Gelehrten, der Königl. Leibmedicus Herr Pringle und Benjamin Franklin aus Pensilvanien, die damals auf einer Reise nach Deutschland, sich in Göttingen sich [sic] befanden, nehmen als Mitglieder ihre Stelle ein."

In this same magazine, dated 8th and 11th of September, 1766, in articles 147 and 148, we find:

"Hierauf erzählte der Herr Sekretär die neuesten Veränderungen die sich in der Königl. Societät zugetragen haben. Sie hat gleich im Anfange dieses Jahres, drei berühmte Englische Gelehrte, den Doct. Robert Lowth, jetzt Bischofen von Oxford, den Herrn Doctor Benjamin Rennicourt, Professor der Theologie zu Oxford, und Herrn Doct. John Pringle, Leibmedicum Ihrer Majestät des Königs und nebst ihnen den Churfürstl. Herrn C. L. von Hagedorn, zu auswärtigen Mitgliedern aufgenommen; und ferner im Sommer den Herrn Aug. Ludwig Schlosser zu Petersburg, der schon seit einigen Jahren ihr Correspondent gewesen, hier bei seiner Auswesenheit und den Herrn Benjamin Franklin aus Pennsylvanien bei seiner Durchreise durch Göttingen dazu genannt."

Again from *Versuch einer academischen Gelehrten-Geschichte von Georg-Augustus Universität zu Göttingen*, 1765-1788. Band II, S. 281, von Johann Stephan Pütters; Professoren des Staatsrechts zu Göttingen, is this notice of this same matter: "Aus anderen Ländern sind seit noch folgende neue Mitglieder aufgenommen (1) In der Physichen Classe (8) Sir John Pringle Med. D. Königin von England Leibartz 1766-1782: (9) Benjamin Franklin."

Johann David Michaelis, *Schreiben an Herrn Prof. Schlözer die Zeitrechnung vom Sündflut bis auf Salomon betreffend* writes thus: "Als Franklin vor einigen Jahren, mich dünkt 1766, in Göttingen war, versicherte mir dieser grosse Kenner seines Vaterlandes und genaue Mathematiker, die Englischen Colonien in Nord Amerika verdoppelten sich alle 25 Jahre."³⁹

Another proof of the high esteem in which Franklin held the institution of Göttingen is seen in the dedication in his own writing in a copy of his *Experiments and Observations On Electricity Made at Philadelphia*, London, 1769:

"To the Royal Academy of Sciences
at Göttingen

As a small Token
of his Respect and Duty,
This Book is humbly presented
by the Author."—

The University of Göttingen contains two copies of this work of Dr. Franklin.

In the *Pyrmonter Brunnenarchiv*, which contains a list of guests at Pyrmont from 1752, published in Berlin, 1782, we read this entry under the year 1766: "Leibmedicus Ritter Pringle aus London und Dr. Franklin aus Pennsylvanien kommt aus London."

The University of Göttingen was founded by George II in 1734 and here Americans and Hanoverians found themselves under the same monarch. We owe to Franklin the awakening of interest in America for the German universities, for previous to

³⁹ *Göttingisches Magazin der Wissenschaften und Litteratur*. Herausgegeben von Georg Christoph Lichtenberg und Georg Forster. 5 Stück, erster Jahrgang, S. 165.

his personal knowledge of this institution, Americans were wont to cross the seas to study in Cambridge or Oxford or the Scotch universities.

Franklin's visit excited the highest interest in Germany. But the importance of his visit for America was not this interest which he awakened in the German fatherland, but the seed which took root in Franklin's breast to establish an American Göttingen, which bore fruit in the establishment of the public college of the City of Philadelphia—since 1779 the present University of Pennsylvania. With Franklin we have the human link of fellowship, which was born then and which has since so strongly tied Germany and the United States in bonds of friendship and good feeling.

Franklin's companion on this journey, as later on his visits to France, was Sir John Pringle, who advised Franklin to join him on his eight weeks' tour, stopping first at Pymont for the waters. Dr. Franklin upon arriving there decided that air, exercise and a change of scene might be beneficial and filed with a desire to know more of the country which he was visiting for the first and last time, left his good friend and visited the principal cities nearest Pymont. We have record only of his visits at Göttingen and Hanover.

"His Philosophical discoveries and writings have given him a wider fame on the Continent than even in England or at home, for in Germany, he was not the subject of party enmity, probably little was yet known of his political importance, and the Germans content with the fact that he was the delegate of his countrymen abroad were satisfied with that evidence, that the great philosopher was no less a statesman. The results of his examination before the House of Commons which did more than anything else to give him celebrity as a political economist had not then been published."⁴⁰

The following letter from Lafayette shows the general interest Franklin had aroused in Germany, and also the attitude of the Germans of the upper circle toward the revolution:

⁴⁰ Hale, *Franklin in France*, p. 7.

"Paris, Feb. 10th, 1789.

"My dear friend

"With Unspeakable Satisfaction I have heard of your safe arrival in America, and Heartily wished I Had been Mingled in the Happy crowd of My fellow Citicens when they saw you set your foot on the Shore of Liberty. When your friends in Paris met together their first word was to talk of You. The wishes for your fortunate Voyage and pleasing sight of your family and friends Became a National Sentiment—in my tour through Germany I have Been Asked thousand questions about you, when I felt equally proud and Happy to Boast of our Affectionate intimacy.

"Prussia and the Austria dominions with some parts of the German Empire the liberties of which are to much spoke of in treaties and to little felt by the people Have been the object of my Very Agreeable journey—the fine class of the people I found misinformed with respect to American affairs—What may be wrong they know perfectly, with an addition of thousand lies and I wish no ground was left for our enemies to Broach those lies upon and altho they Have a due respect and enthusiastic admiration for the virtues displayed By Amerika during the War—it is a matter of doubt with them if free Constitutions can support themselves (some sensible and sad feeling men excepted particularly Prince Henry)—the king of Prussia Himself is Blinded by Habit and prejudices.

"That Monarch's health is very Bad—The New Emperor's temper not very quiete—But Great Britain's Affairs Being embarrassed and our politics very pacific I don't think any storm is to Be feared—I have been very Happy to hear You Have Accepted the presidency of Pennsylvania. . . .

"Yours, Lafayette."⁴¹

In the correspondence to Franklin we find but one letter which throws light upon his visit to Hanover. This is a letter from Johann Friedrich Hartmann, written in Latin, dated the Calendes of October, 1767, in which he says: "Often have I recalled the happy occasion, when I was permitted to see and talk

⁴¹ The American Philosophical Society. *Franklin Papers*.

with you privately. The Prince of Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt had sent to Göttingen a special emissary to offer his salutations to Franklin, but unfortunately the latter left that very day; and the hope of seeing him was frustrated."⁴² The knowledge we have of this Hartmann is that he was noted among his contemporaries for his electrical investigations, and was head of the Royal Hospital and a prominent physician in Hanover. In the *Göttingischen Anzeigen*, bearing the date of September 27, 1766, we read that Pringle and Franklin visited Mr. Hartmann in Hanover, in order to see his apparatus for strong electrical experiments. No doubt it was through Sir John Pringle that the interest between Hartmann and Franklin was mutually aroused.

That Franklin knew himself at least the names of famous men, noted for their electrical experiments, is proved in a letter to his friend, Peter Collinson, in which he says, describing a dinner, to be given in Philadelphia: "A Turkey to be killed for our dinner by the electrical shock, and roasted by the electrical jack before a fire kindled by the electrified bottle, when the healths of all the famous electricians in England, Holland, France and Germany are to be drunk from electrified bumpers under the discharge of guns from the electrical battery."⁴³

Franklin introduced into England the pulse-glass, by which water is made to boil in a vacuum by the heat of the hand. Nairne, the mathematical instrument maker, made a number of them from the one that Franklin brought from Germany. He speaks of this in a letter to John Winthrop, London, July 2, 1768: "An ingenious artist here, Mr. Nairne, mathematical instrument maker, has made a number of them from mine, and improved them, for his are much more sensible than those I brought from Germany."^{44, 45}

It seems that he may have received these pulse-glasses from the physician Dr. Hartmann. He writes again of this same matter: "When I was last year in Germany, I met with a singular

⁴² Amer. Philos. Society.

⁴³ *Experiments and Observations on Electricity*, p. 21.

⁴⁴ *Experiments and Observations on Electricity*, p. 486.

⁴⁵ Smyth, Vol. 5, p. 140.

kind of glass being a tube about 8 inches long, half-inch in diameter, with a hollow ball of near an inch diameter at one end, and one of an inch and half at the other, hermetically sealed, and half filled with water."⁴⁶

In the *Literarischer Briefwechsel* of Johann David Michaelis, by Johann Gottlieb Buhle (pp. 214-218), we read letters written by Sir John Pringle to him dated London, the 6th of May, 1766, in which Pringle acknowledges the receipt of a diploma from the Royal Society at Göttingen and expressed at this late date, the delay being due to illness, his high sense of the dignity of the honor which he shall always reckon as one of the most fortunate circumstances of his life, but he mentions nothing in regard to his friend and companion Franklin, who no doubt made his own acknowledgment, although the letter has been lost, or else hidden away where the hands of research have not as yet reached it.

Again, London, September 6, 1766, he writes: "I cannot conclude without giving You the strongest assurances of my grateful remembrance of all Your civilities, and the pleasure, which I enjoyed in your company during my stay in Göttingen. I have had the satisfaction, not only to acquaint Baron Münchhausen and Baron Behr with the good effects of their letters, in procuring to my companion Dr. Franklin and to myself the attentions and conversations of so many learned gentlemen, as we had the good fortune to be introduced to there, but likewise to add this circumstance to the account, which I had the honor to give His Majesty of the flourishing state of His University abroad."

Pringle three years later from London, June 2, 1769, wrote: "When I had the pleasure of seeing you at Göttingen, Dr. Franklin and I were among the first to inform you of the accounts, we had received of the great size of the Patagonians." The matter he finds has been exaggerated. In conclusion he wrote thus: "I beg, Dear Sir, to have my best respects presented to the Ladies and Gentlemen, I had the pleasure to see in Your House, and the other members of Your Learned Society. Dr. Franklin who is

⁴⁶ Smyth, Vol. 5, p. 139.

still here and whom I see often, desires me to make you and them the same compliment."⁴⁷

Franklin, when he arrived in Germany, had just made his presence and his influence felt in England by his statements before the House of Commons, and the fresh air of Germany may have appealed to him after the hot atmosphere of argumentation, which the storm of the repeal of the Stamp Act had not yet cooled. No letters of that period written by his hand can be found, although his visit lasted from June 15 to August 13, 1766. He seems to have kept no note of these travels. Perhaps these may have been mislaid, if made at all, as he says in his *Autobiography*: "In truth I found myself incorrigible with respect to order and now I am grown old and my memory bad, I feel very sensibly the want of it." The journey was made in the midst of a very exciting period of his life and he must have enjoyed his visit because of his desire, keenly expressed to revisit Germany, as he writes later to Jan Ingen Housz, Passy, October 2, 1781: "I last Year requested of Congress to release me from this Service that I might spend the evening of Life more agreeably in philosophic Leisure; but I was refused. If I had succeeded it was my Intention to make the Tour of Italy, with my Grandson, pass into Germany and spend some time happily with you, Whom I have always loved, ever since I knew you with uninterrupted affection."⁴⁸

Johann August Bauer, in his *Franklin und Washington*, page 99, speaks of this visit thus: "Im Verlauf des Jahres 1766 machte Franklin eine Reise durch Holland und Deutschland und ward von allen Gelehrten in diesen Ländern mit der grössten Achtung aufgenommen."

Speaking of general conditions in Europe at the outbreak of the American Revolution, Julian Schmidt expresses his opinion thus, in his *Geschichte des gestrigen Lebens in Deutschland von Leibnitz bis auf Lessing* (1681-1781), Leipzig, 1864, Bd. II, S. 209, thus: "Man weiss welches Aufsehen Franklin's Besuch in

⁴⁷ *Literarischer Briefwechsel J. D. Michaelis*, von Joh. Gottlieb Buhle. Band II, S. 214-218.

⁴⁸ American Philosophical Society.

Europa machte, auch in Göttingen, wo er sich im Herbst 1766 aufhielt, betrachtete man diese originelle Figur mit Aufmerksamkeit."

(b) *Franklin's References to Absence.*

References to absence in Germany were made by Franklin in several letters. On September 27, 1766, in a letter addressed to his "dear friend and neighbor", Mr. Charles Thomson. From London he writes: "I received your very kind Letter of May 20th, which came here while I was absent in Germany."⁴⁹ Again, Craven Street, London, October 4, 1766, he makes reference to his absence abroad in a letter to an unknown correspondent.^{49a} Again on October 11th of that same year, he addresses a letter to Mrs. Deborah Franklin: "I received your kind little Letter of Aug. 26th by the Packet. I suppose they imagined I should not be returned from Germany. . . ." Again on December 13th, he writes to Mrs. Franklin: "Since my last I have received your kind letters of Sept. 28th and Oct. 9th. I wondered you had not heard of my return from Germany, as I wrote by the August Packet, and by a Ship from Holland, just as I was coming over."⁵⁰

He had already sent a letter from London June 13th to Mrs. Franklin telling of this proposed trip to Germany: "I wrote you, that I had been ill lately. I am now nearly well again, but feeble. Tomorrow I set out with my friend Dr. Pringle (now Sir John) on a journey to Pyrmont where he goes to drink the waters; but I hope more from the air and exercise, having been used as you know, to have a journey once a year, the want of which last year, has, I believe, hurt me so that, though I was not quite to say sick, I was often ailing last winter and through the spring. We must be back at farthest in eight weeks, as my fellow-traveller is the Queen's physician, and has leave for no longer, . . . I propose to leave him at Pyrmont and visit some of the principal

* Original MS. New York Historical Society.

^a American Philosophical Society.

^b American Philosophical Society.

cities nearest to it, and call for him again when the time for our return draws nigh."⁵¹

Again in a letter to Robert R. Livingston from Passy June 22, 1783, he writes, expressing a wish to know the status of affairs in the new arrangement of foreign affairs and refers to this visit. The Swedish ambassadors having offered his grandson the position of American ambassador, and the Danish minister having been generous in a similar offer, Franklin says: "But it is not my Custom to solicit Employments for myself, or any of my Family, and I shall not do it in this case. I only hope that if he is not employed in your arrangement, I may be informed of it as soon as possible, that while I have Strength left for it, I may accompany him in a Tour to Italy, returning through Germany, which I think he may make to more Advantage with me than alone, and which I have long promised him as a reward for his faithful Service and his tender filial Attachment to me."⁵²

Of the letters written to Franklin referring to this visit, we may add one dated Alfreton, August 10, 1766, which reads as follows: "Dear Sir: By this I expect you are returned to London from your Germany tour, Which I hope has been pleasing to you, & useful to Sr. John Pringle. . . ." This is signed Ant(hony) Tissington.⁵³

⁵¹ American Philosophical Society. Printed in Sparks, Vol. VII, p. 320.

⁵² Library of Congress.

⁵³ American Philosophical Society.

CHAPTER IV.

FRANKLIN'S KNOWLEDGE OF THINGS GERMAN.

(a) *At Home.*

We shall mention here but one instance which shows the clear insight that Franklin possessed of the character of the Pennsylvania Germans of his period. This we read in his letter to Peter Collinson dated Philadelphia, May 9, 1753: "I am perfectly of your mind, that measures of great temper are necessary with the Germans; and am not without apprehensions that through their indiscretion or ours, or both, great disorders may one day arise among us. Those who come hither are generally the most stupid of their own nation and, as ignorance is often attended with credulity when knavery would mislead it and with suspicion when honesty would set it right; and as few of the English understood the German language, and so cannot address them either from the press or the pulpit, it is almost impossible to remove any prejudices they may entertain. Their clergy have very little influence on the people, who seem to take a pleasure in abusing and discharging the ministers on every trivial occasion. Not being used to liberty, they know not how to make a modest use of it. And as Colben says of the young Hottentots, that they are not esteemed men until they have shown their manhood by beating their mothers, so these seem not to think themselves free, until they can feel their liberty in abusing and insulting their teachers. Thus they are under no restraint from ecclesiastical government; they behave, however, submissively enough at present to the civil government which I wish they may continue to do; for I remember when they modestly declined intermeddling in our elections, but now they come in droves and carry all before them, except in one or two counties. Few of their children in the country know English. They import many books from Germany; and of the six printing-houses in the provinces two are entirely German, two half German half English, and but two entirely English. They have one German news-

paper and one half-German. Advertisements, intended to be general are now printed in Dutch and English. The signs in our streets have inscriptions in both languages, and in some places only in German. They begin of late to make all their bonds and other legal instruments in their own language, which (though I think it ought not to be) are allowed good in our courts, when the German business so increases, that there is continued need of interpreters; and I suppose in a few years they will also be necessary in the Assembly, to tell one half our legislators what the other half say.

"In short unless the stream of their importation could be turned from this to other colonies, as you very judiciously propose, they will soon so out number us, that all the advantages we have will in my opinion, be not able to preserve our language, and even our Government will become precarious. The French, who watch all advantages, are now themselves making a German settlement back of us, in the Illinois country, and by means of these Germans they may in time come to an understanding with ours; and indeed in the last war our Germans showed a general disposition that boded us no good. For, when the English who were not Quakers, alarmed by the danger arising from the defenseless state of our country, entered unanimously into an association, and within this government and the lower countries raised, arms and disciplined near 10,000 men, the Germans, except a very few in proportion to their number, refused to engage in it, giving out, one amongst another, and even in point, that if they were quiet, the French, should they take the country would not molest them. At the same time abusing the Philadelphians for fitting out privateers against the enemy and representing the trouble, hazard, an expense of defending the province, as a greater inconvenience than any that might be expected from the change of government. Yet I am not for refusing to admit them entirely into our colonies. All that seems to me necessary is to distribute them more equally, mix them with the English, establish English schools where they are now too thickly settled; and take some care to prevent the practice lately fallen into by some of the ship-owners of sweeping the German gaols to make up the

number of their passengers. I say, I am not against the admission of Germans in general, for they have their virtues. Their industry and frugality are exemplary. They are excellent husbandmen and contribute generally to the improvement of the country."⁵⁴

Peter Collinson having received Franklin's account of the condition of German affairs in the Colonies, answers this on the 12th of August, 1752, as follows:

"Your impartial Account of the State of the Germans came very Seasonably to awake the Legislature to take some Measures to check the Increase of their Power.—A Copy was Desir'd by the Members for the German Affairs to show Mr. Pelham. . . . I have drawn up 7 proposals which you shall See. . . .

"Hints Humbly proposed to Incorporate the Germans more with the English & check the Increase of their power.

"1. To establish more English schools amongst the Germans.

"2. To Encourage them to Learn English. To let an act of Parliament pass by Gr. Britain to disqualify every German from accepting a place of Trust or prominence Civil or military unless both He and His Children can speak English intelligibly.

"3. To prohibit any Deeds, Bonds or Writings to be made in the German Language.

"4. To suppress all German printing Houses that print only German.

"5. To prohibit all importation of German books.

"6. To encourage Marriages of Germans with English.

"7. To Discourage the Sending More Germans to the Pro. of Pennsylvania."⁵⁵

(b) *Abroad.*

Franklin knew well conditions of American trade in Germany. In his article entitled "The Interest of Great Britain Considered with regard to Her Colonies and the acquisitions of Canada and Guadaloupe to which are added Observations concerning the increase of Mankind, Peopling of Countries &c."

⁵⁴ Amer. Philos. Society. *Franklin Papers*.

⁵⁵ Amer. Philos. Society.

London. Printed for T. Becket, at Tullyhead near Surrey St. in the Strand. M D C C L X. . . ., speaking of the trade conditions says, "The inland parts of the continent of Europe are farther from the Sea than the limits of settlement proposed for America. Germany is full of tradesmen and artificers of all kinds and the governments there are not all of them always favorable to commerce of Britain, yet it is a well known fact that our manufactures find their way even into the heart of Germany. Ask the great manufacturers and merchants of the Leeds, Sheffield, Birmingham, Manchester and Norwich goods and they will tell you, that some of them send their riders frequently through France or Spain and Italy up to Vienna; and back through the middle and northern parts of Germany to show samples of their wares and collect orders, which they receive by almost every mail to a vast amount. Whatever charges arise on the carriage of the goods are added to the value, and all paid by the consumer. . . .

" . . . I say if these nations purchase and consume such quantities of our goods, notwithstanding the remoteness of their situation from the sea; how much less likely is it that the settlers in America, who must for ages be employ'd in agriculture chiefly, should make cheaper for themselves the goods our manufacturers at present supply them with; . . ."⁵⁶

He writes to John Winthrop from Paris, May 1, 1777, this account of the conduct of the German princes: "The Conduct of those Princes of Germany, who have sold the Blood of their People, has subjected them to the Contempt and Odium of all Europe. The Prince of Anspach, whose recruits mutinied and refus'd to march, was obliged to disarm and fetter them and drive them to the sea side by the help of his Guards; himself attending in Person in his return he was publicly hooted by Mobs thro' every Town he passed in Holland, with all sorts of reproachful Epithets. The King of Prussia's Humour of obliging those Princes to pay him the same Toll per Head for the Men they drive thro' his Dominions, as used to be paid him for their

⁵⁶ Sparks, *Franklin*, Vol. 7, p. 71 ff. Philadelphia Historical Society. Presented to Rev. Dr. Mayhew, from his humble servant, the Author.

Cattle, because they were sold as such, is generally spoken of with Approbation, as containing a just reproof of those Tyrants."⁵⁷

Franklin has treated again the sale of the Hessians in one of his *Jeux d'esprit*, a "Letter written from the Count De Schaumbergh to the Baron Hohendorf, Commanding the Hessian Troop in America". He also showed his keen wit in his "Edict of the King of Prussia", which stirred up so much excitement in England at the time of its appearance. So true was the delineation of the King of Prussia's character, that many felt confident of the authenticity of this edict.

(c) *Franklin's Knowledge of the German Language.*

How much knowledge did Franklin have of the German language? We read in a letter to Cadwallader Colden, Philadelphia, September 14, 1752, the following: "Send me if you please, the translation of your piece into High Dutch. I understand a little of the German language and will peruse and return it."⁵⁸

On June 21, 1782, he writes to Ingen Housz: "The Imperial Ambassador has had the Goodness two or three times to offer the conveyance of Letters to you; and I have so often promised to make use of that conveyance & fully intended it but something or other had always prevented it. I have a few days since received your favor of April 24th, thro' the hands of Mr. Fave, who is so kind as to promise taking care of an Answer & it is to his care that I propose committing this. He had also delivered to me the German Edition of your Opusculum. There are several places in it which I much desire to read; but I will wait for the French, as that will be easier for me, having for these many years been but little accustomed to the German."⁵⁹

Again: "I should be glad to see your Piece on the Electrophore when it is published in English or French. I do not entirely read the German." October 2, 1781.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ The Library of Congress. The American Philosophical Society. Hale, *Franklin in France*, Vol. I, p. 106.

⁵⁸ Smyth, Vol. 3, p. 98.

⁵⁹ Smyth, Vol. 8, p. 312.

⁶⁰ American Philosophical Society.

On the top of a German letter from Baron von Steuben to Franklin, January 1, 1783, inquiring as to the welfare of his son, General Lieutenant von Steuben, the Doctor has written, "Mr. Franklin wishes to know the purport of this letter". This shows again his limited knowledge of German.

Franklin, in a letter to David Hume in answer to a remonstrance by that gentleman against the introduction of newly coined words in the *Canada Pamphlet*, gives us the impression that he was not entirely ignorant of German literary style when he says: "The introducing new words when we are already possessed of old ones sufficiently expressive I confess must be generally wrong, as it tends to change the language, yet at the same time, I cannot but wish the useage of our tongue permitted making new words, when we want them, by composition of old ones, whose meanings are already well understood. The German allows of it, and it is a common practice with their writers."⁶¹

⁶¹ Smyth, Vol. 1, p. 41.

CHAPTER V.

FRANKLIN'S FAME IN EUROPE—GERMANY.

Franklin's fame in Europe reached far beyond the boundaries of France, in fact stretched across the continent from Russia into Spain. He enjoyed the honor of being a member or associate member of the following foreign institutions:

1. Fellow of the Royal Society of London, 1756.
2. University of St. Andrew's, Scotland, 1759.
3. Member of the Royal Society of Sciences, Göttingen, 1766.
4. Learned Society of Sciences, Rotterdam, 1771.
5. Royal Academy of Sciences of Paris, 1772.
(One of eight foreign members.)
6. Royal Medical Society of Paris, 1777.
7. Academy of Sciences, Letters, and Arts, Padua, 1781.
8. Royal Society at Edinburgh, 1783.
9. Royal Society of Physics, National History and Arts of Orleans, March 18, 1785.
10. Academy of Sciences, Literature and Arts of Lyons, June 2, 1785.
11. Society of Agriculture, Milan, 1786.
12. Honorable Member of Medical Society in London, 1787.
13. Imperial Academy of Sciences of Saint Petersburg, 1789.

Europe was thrilled to its depth by the answer which Franklin had given to their eager curiosity of natural phenomena. "The great epigram created by the good Turgot—*Eripuit Caelo Fulmen Sceptrumque Tyrannis*—explains the incredible almost fabulous popularity, in which Franklin was held in Europe. He was the living presence of the new age, the incarnation of democracy, the successful antagonist of tyrants, the builder of happy states founded upon justice and freedom. With whatsoever modesty he disclaimed the honor of Turgot's epigram the world persisted in imputing to him alone the creation of the Republic and the triumphant leadership of the 'dear insurgents'."⁸²

⁸² Smyth, Vol. 10, p. 361.

Again we read a German appreciation of Franklin ("Der schlaue Franklin", as he is often called) as follows: "Der Naturmensch Rousseaus war ein Traumgebilde, die Helden Plutarchs lebten nur noch in der Phantasie, aber der schlaue Quäker Franklin war handhafte Wirklichkeit. Der berühmte Erfinder des Blitzableiters, der aus einem armen Setzerlehrling sich durch eigene Kraft zu einem der ersten Männer seines Volkes emporgearbeitet hatte, nahm sich von der Überbildung kranken Frankreichs wirklich aus, wie der Sendling einer neuen Welt und einer besseren Zeit."⁶³

(a) *Franklin's Reputation in the Eighteenth Century in Germany.*

The first mention of Dr. Franklin in German literature of the eighteenth century we find in a book of travel, written by Peter Kalm, the Swedish investigator, sent to North America at the cost of the Swedish Academy of Sciences. This work was translated into German by Johann Andreas Murray, who was Professor of Botany at the University of Göttingen, when Franklin visited there in 1766.⁶⁴

Professor Murray tells us, speaking of the frequent references made by Kalm to information gained from Franklin: "Der Verfasser beruft sich auch öfters auf H. Franklin; aber hat ihn nicht allezeit genau genug verstanden." In Vol. II, we read: "Der Herr Benjamin Franklin dem Pennsylvanie für so viele Verdienste um sein Wohlergehen und die gelehrte Welt, für die vielen neuen Entdeckungen in der Eléctricität verpflichtet ist, war der erste, der mich bekannt machte. Er gab mir nötigen Unterricht, und erwies mir seine Gewogenheit auf mannigfaltige Art." This is Kalm's acknowledgment of Franklin's letters of introduction to friends and institutions in America. Franklin always took a keen interest in all scientific investigations, and he frequently

⁶³ *Das Zeitalter Friedrich des Grossen.* Dr. Wilhelm. Oncken, Bd. II, S. 730.

⁶⁴ *Sammlung neuer und merkwürdiger Reisen zu Wasser und zu Lande.* X. Theil. Beschreibung der Reise, die er (Herr Peter Kalm) nach nördlichem Amerika auf den Befehl gedachter Akademie und öffentliche Kosten unternommen hat. Bd. I, II, III. Göttingen, 1754.

mentions this explorer in his correspondence, but "Herr Franklin hat das Kalmische Werk nicht eher, als in Hannover aus der deutschen Übersetzung kennen lernen". Kalm's discussion of the growth in population in Pennsylvania, including the colonial laws and conditions with methods of district voting compared with statutes, laws and common law of England, and the birth and growth of the University of Pennsylvania—all these details, as he says, he owed to the generosity of Franklin.

In the *Vorrede des Übersetzers* in the book entitled, *Des Herrn Benjamin Franklins, Esq., Briefe von der Elektrizität. Aus dem Englischen übersetzt, nebst Anmerkungen von J. C. Wilcke, Leipzig, 1758*, we read:

"Herr Franklin, ein geschickter Buchhändler zu Philadelphia, in Nordamerika, ward durch die zur Elektrizität gehörigen Werkzeuge und die derselben beigefügte Anweisung solche zu gebrauchen, welche ihm aus London übersandt worden, aufgemuntert und in den Stand gesetzt, diese Versuche in diesem entfernten Welttheile bekannt zu machen, und sich auf eine vorzügliche Weise damit zu beschäftigen. Wie gross der Fortgang sei, welchen der arbeitsamme Fleiss dieses geschickten Mannes in dieser Sache gemachet habe, kann man aus gegenwärtigen Briefen ersehen, welche dieselben Gedanken und Erklärungen enthalten. Diese zeigen deutlich die grossen Vorteile welche denen Wissenschaften dadurch gewachsen können wenn Leuten von Lust, Trieb und Fähigkeiten Gelegenheit gegeben wird, ihren Fleiss in Schwung und Ausübung zu setzen. Man erhält hier aus den Händen des Amerikaners eine Schrift, welche auch in dem Vaterlande der Elektrizität lehrreich bleibt.

"Herr Franklin hat seine Erfindungen und Arbeiten seinen Freunden in London, besonders dem Herrn Collinson, in verschiedenen Briefen und kleinen Abhandlungen mitgetheilt. Dieselben sind in dreyen kleinen Theilen zusammengedruckt und unter dem Titel:

"New experiments and observations on Electricity, made at Philadelphia in America, by Mr. Benjamin Franklin, and communicated in several letters to Mr. Collinson at London. F. R. S.

London. Printed in fold by E. Cave, and at St. John's Gate, 1751, in 4to. bekannt bemachtet.

“Die Seltenheit dieser Schrift in unseren Gegenden, die Wichtigkeit derselben, und der grosse Vortheil welchen ich selber daraus gezogen habe, haben mich veranlasset, dieselbe in einer deutschen Übersetzung bekannter zu machen. Ich kann mein Urtheil zwar für keine Entscheidung und Bestimmung des Werthes eines Buches ansehen; so viel muss ich aber gestehen, dass ich diese Schrift werth halte, allgemeiner bekannt, und denen Vorurtheilen entrissen zu werden, welche man häufig gegen dieselbige findet. . . . Ich zog aus dem System des Herrn Franklins eine Menge von Schlüssen und Folgerungen heraus. Auf diese baute ich den Entwurf von neuen Versuchen, welche diese Sätze durch ihren Erfolg entweder bestätigen, oder umstossen mussten. So viel ich von diesen Versuchen ins Werk setzete, so viel neue Gründe und Beweise fand ich für die Richtigkeit des Systems und der Erklärung des Herrn Franklins. Die einigen Versuche desselben, habe ich sehr ofte und allezeit mit dem glücklichsten Erfolge wiederholt, und kann daher mit Zuversicht behaupten, dass sie wahr und ohne Fehler sind; und dass man den von Herrn Franklin vorgegebenen Erfolg niemals verfehlen werde, wenn man sich nur die Mühe gegeben hat, von dem Zusammenhange des ganzen Systems und denen besondern Fällen desselben, welche hin und wieder einen Einfluss haben können, sich einen allgemeinen und deutlichen Begriff zu machen.

“Weil ich hievon gewiss bin, hat es mich um destomehr befreundet, dass ein berühmter und mit den elektrischen Versuchen sehr bekannter Naturforscher in Frankreich, der Herr Abt Nollet, dieser Schrift des Herrn Franklin eine so scharfe Kritik entgegengesetzt hat, als man in diesen Briefen von der Elektrizität findet. . . . Die Lehre des Herrn Franklins ist in Frankreich so wohl aufgenommen worden, dass sie der, nach des Herrn Nollet's Meinung, von der französischen Academie der Wissenschaften für Souverain erklärten Hypothese desselben, welche er in den *Mémoires vom Jahre 1745 Conjectures sur les causes de l'Electricité des corps*, und in seinem *Essai sur l'Electricité des corps*, vorgetragen hat. . . . Ich bin versichert, Herr Frank-

lin werde nichts verlieren, . . . Die Versuche des Herrn Franklin sind richtig; sie haben aber nicht die Kraft, welche Herr Nollet ihnen zutrauet; weil sie als so viele Beweise für die Theorie Herrn Franklins können angesehen werden, als für Widerlegungen derselben. . . . Es kommt gewiss Vieles in seinen Briefen vor, wogegen ein jeder Physicus eben die billigen Zweifel vorbringen würde, welche der Herr Abt Nollet denselben entgegen setzt. . . .

“Die Ausbreitung der Theorie von der Electricität ist ein vorzügliches Stück derselben. Ich sage die Ausbreitung dieser Theorie. Das System selber und die Grundsätze davon, welche ich in aller Kürze entwerfen will, sind keine Erfindungen des Herrn Franklins. . . .” He continues with a discussion of the various methods of electricity and numerous experiments from noted scientists, such as Watson, Ellicot, Waiz and others.

“Die Verdienste des Herrn Franklins um diese Theorie sind dennoch gross. Er hat dieselbe nicht nur in ein helleres Licht gesetzt; sondern hat sie auch auf die Ladungs- oder Erschütterungsversuche, die unter den Namen der Leidnischen und Muschenbroeckischen allgemein bekannt sind, und von welchen man bisher keine natürliche und sinnreiche Art angewandt. Hat er hierbey ein wenig zu viel gekünstelt, so bleibt dennoch hier alle Zeit mehr Natur, als in anderen unglaublichen Erklärungen. . . .

“Man kann aber mit recht behaupten, dass keiner auf diese merkwürdige Erscheinung ein so aufmerksames Auge gewandt hat, als unser Herr Franklin, und dass keiner eine der Natur so gemässe Erklärung derselben gegeben habe als eben er. . . .

“Es ist allgemein bekannt, dass wir Herrn Franklin die Kenntniss der Gewitterselektrizität zu danken haben. Man hat zwar vor ihm, allerley Gedanken von der Ähnlichkeit der Blitze mit der Electricität vorgetragen; dieses sind aber bis dahin lauter Muthmassungen gewesen. Und obgleich Herr Franklin nicht der Erste geworden ist welcher diese Versuche ins Werk gerichtet hat; so hat er dieselben dennoch schon so deutlich entworfen und vorgeschlagen, dass ihm der Ruhm dieser Erfindung gar nicht streitig gemacht werden kann. . . .” Thus we see from this early translation of Franklin’s ideas a just appreciation of

the valuable discoveries which Franklin had made. His fame took firm root in German soil and added more splendor to his growing European glory.

In the *Hannoversches Magazin*, 17 Stück, Friday, February 27, 1767, appeared this article, *Einige Anmerkungen über Nordamerika und über dasige Grossbritannische Colonien*. Aus mündlichen Nachrichten des Herrn Dr. Franklins, von Herrn Hofrath Achenwall: "So weit gehen die Nachrichten des Herrn Dr. Franklin, die ich grossentheils als Antworten auf meine Anfragen erhalten habe, ob ich gleich nicht alle Worte und Ausdrücke auf seine Rechnung schreiben kann. Hie und da ist etwas zur Erläuterung von mir eingeschoben worden, und daher gehört was in Klamern eingeschlossen ist."⁶⁵ He continues with an appreciation of Professor Kalm's knowledge of America, since he had been granted the opportunity of discussing the matter for several months with Dr. Franklin, while his own questions were limited by the brevity of his interview with this celebrated man. These *Anmerkungen* by Dr. Gottfried Achenwall went through three editions. The second edition, published in Frankfurt (Stuttgart), 1769, was the same in content as the first edition of Göttingen, 1767. The third edition published in Helmstedt, 1777, is composed of 94 pages, containing in addition to Achenwall's *Anmerkungen*, the *Schrift von den Streitigkeiten mit den Colonien in Amerika*, written by John Wesley. The matter stands undisputed, that this work was read with interest by the German public. Many discrepancies on American affairs crept into these pages, especially the treatment of the North American Indians, where the author, no doubt, allowed his imagination full swing, since it seems hardly credible, that Franklin would have misinformed him on a subject with which he himself was so perfectly familiar. Mr. Gallinger, on page 8 of his dissertation, says this work was "die einzige Darstellung des Verfassungskampfes in deutscher Sprache, die vor dem Jahre 1776 erschien." Further mention of this same report on American colonial affairs, as treated by Achenwall, we find in *Sammlung neuer Reisebeschrei-*

⁶⁵ Achenwall, *Anmerkungen* (1767), p. 506.

bungen aus fremden Sprachen, by Johann Tobias Köhler, Göttingen und Gotha, 1769, who refers to its appearance in the *Hannoversches Magazin*.⁸⁶

We find Franklin's name mentioned next thus: "Paine's *Common Sense*—ein Werk das man damals gewöhnlich Samuel Adams oder Franklin und Adams zuschrieb, in Schubarts *Deutsche Chronik*, Ulm, 1774-1777.

August Ludwig Schlözer in his *Erstes Heft des neuen Briefwechsels*, Göttingen, 1776, discussing the *Aufbruch in Amerika*, page 49, writes:

"Herr Franklin, dieser warme, aufgeklärte und ehrliche Verteidiger der Nord-Amerikaner, wurde bekanntlich im Februar, 1766, im Parlament, als über die Widerrufung der Stempelakte gehandelt wurde, über verschiedene Dinge gerichtlich befragt. Das ganze Verhör ist bereits deutsch gedruckt, aber in einem Buche, wo es niemand such: In *Olaf Toren's Reise nach Surate*. Leipzig, 1772. S. 209-238. Ich zeichne hier einige Antworten aus, die verschiedenen Stellen dieses Briefes viel Licht geben." He quotes exactly Franklin's definition of the Tea Tax thus:

"Eine äusserliche Taxe ist eine Angabe, die man auf die Waren gelegt hat, welche man zu uns bringt; man schlägt sie auf den Wert der Sache und zu anderen Kosten die sie begleiten; sie und auch ein Theil des Preises. Gefällt die Ware dem Käufer nicht um den Preis, so nimmt er sie nicht, und er braucht Auflage nicht zu bezahlen." We must remember that Schlözer knew Franklin personally, having met him at Mühlhausen's table in Göttingen.

In the *Wöchentliche Nachrichten*, Berlin, 1776, for the 16th of December, Jacob Mauvillon asserts that the politician Pinto received from Lord North fifty guineas to disparage the colonies. Schlözer speaking of Franklin's examination before Parliament says: "Herr Franklin, dieser warme, aufgeklärte und ehrliche Verteidiger der Nord-Amerikaner, wurde bekanntlich im Feb-

* *Sammlung neuer Reisebeschreibung aus fremden Sprachen*. Köhler, p. 329. (*Franklin's Nachrichten von Nordamerika*.)

ruar, 1766, im Parlament, als über Widerrufung der Stempel-Acte gehandelt wurde, über verschiedene Dinge gerichtlich befragt. Das ganze Verhör ist bereits deutsch gedruckt, aber in einem Buche wo es niemand sucht: In *Olof Toren's Reise nach Surat*, 1772. S. 209-238. Ich zeichne hier einige Antworten aus, die verschiedenen Stellen dieses Briefes ungemein viel Licht geben; und zugleich beweisen wie sehr das jetzige Betragen der Kolonien bei Gelegenheit der Thee-Acte, ihren eigenen im Jahre 1766 durch ihren Anwalt vor dem Parlament geäußerten Grundsätzen widerspreche." He here gives the general details of Franklin's interview before Parliament citing questions and answers.

In *Der Deutsche Merkur* (April, 1777) *Fortsetzung der neuesten politischen Gerichte*, page 74, we read: "Nie kann ein Mann rätselhafter und unerwarteter aus der Neuen in die Alte Welt überkommen, als im letzten December der berühmte Franklin. Ein amerikanisches Schiff brachte ihn nach Frankreich, er wohnte bei Deane, und doch wollte man wissen, dass er auf die königliche Parthei getreten sei. Andere meinen, er sei nur gekommen um mit den Encyclopädisten zu philosophiren, andere lassen ihn mit den Französischen Ministerien negotiren. Der König von Preussen soll ihn zu sich berufen haben, doch hört man noch nicht, dass der Weise von Philadelphia auf dem Wege zu dem Weisen von Sans Soucie sei." So we see that Wieland knew the conditions of American politics on foreign shores, and felt keen interest in the actions of such a celebrated colonist and American patriot as Dr. Franklin.

There is in *The Polyanthos of Boston*, for January, 1807, page 99, an anecdote which describes the supposed meeting of Frederick the Great at Sans Souci and Franklin which runs as follows: "Frederick the Great was fully sensible of the contagious nature of liberty. He knew the spirit of freedom was epidemical; and he did not choose to employ his subjects in any mode that could put them in the way of catching the disorder. When Dr. Franklin applied to him to lend his assistance to America, 'Pray, Dr. (says the veteran), what is the object they mean to attain?' 'Liberty, Sire (replied the philosopher), lib-

erty—that freedom which is the birthright of man!’ The king, after a short pause, made this memorable answer: ‘I was born a prince; I am become a king: and I will not use the power I possess to the ruin of my trade—I was born to command—and the people born to obey’.”

In the *Deutsches Museum*, Bd. II, July to December, 1782, we find on page 473: “Ein Brief Rechtschreibung betreffend aus des berühmten Benjamin Franklins Political, Miscellaneous and Philosophical Pieces (p. 473) übersetzt.” This reference is made with the following note on Franklin’s ideas of corrected orthography, which was particularly interesting to the Germans of this time: “Herr Franklin war nämlich auf den Gedanken verfallen (den man für natürlich halten sollte), dass, da die Buchstaben-Schrift eigentlich dazu bestimmt ist die Tonsprache dem Gesicht dazustellen, so müsse jeder besondere Schal sein eignes Zeichen haben.” The author continues with the most minute details and examples taken from Franklin’s own writings.

Ludwig Meyer von Kronau expressed his personal interest in the North American heroes and affairs thus:

“Das wichtigste historische Ereigniss während meiner Kindheit war die Losreissung der nordamerikanischen Kolonien (der Vereinigten Staaten) von dem Mutterlande Grossbritannien für welche der Kaiser Joseph und der Kanton Schweiz meine Umgebungen so viele Zeit übrig liessen, um ihre Aufmerksamkeit auf sie wenden zu lassen. Noch erinnere ich mich deutlich, dass die nordamerikanische Sache, Franklin, Washington und andere Männer . . . Teilnahme für sich erregten’ . . . das Interesse welches Franklin, ebenso Lafayette und seine Mitstreiter erregten.”⁶⁷

J. E. Biester in an article entitled *Etwas über Benjamin Franklin*, appearing in the *Berlinische Monatsschrift*,⁶⁸ II. Band, Berlin, 1783, gives us as an introduction, the enthusiastic letter of his friend George Forster. This letter, dated April 24, 1783, contained a portrait of Benjamin Franklin, and reads thus:

⁶⁷ *Lebenserinnerungen von Ludwig Meyer von Kronau, 1769-1841*, Gerold Meyer von Kronau, S. 10 (1783).

⁶⁸ S. 11-38.

S. 11 ff.):

“(Franklin’s Bildnis, das unsere Leser, in einem sorgfältigen und treuen Nachstiche diesem Stücke vorgesetzt finden), soll Ihnen, mein lieber Biester, für meine Bereitwilligkeit bürgen. Ich habe den ehrlichen, den grossen Franklin zu lieb dass ich ihn nicht in meiner Stube vor Augen zu haben wünschen sollte. Daher liess ich mir einen Abdruck des schönen Kupfers, welches vor seinen ‘Political, Miscellaneous and Philosophical Pieces’ steht, durch einen guten Freund (Herrn Vaughan, den Herausgeber dieser Pieces) kommen und in Rahmen fassen. Hier haben Sie es, lassen Sie es kopieren, denn es ist sehr getreu, ohne allen Vergleich besser, als alle franzisirte Bildnisse des berühmten Mannes (man muss sich erinnern dass Herr Forster Franklins persönlich kennt) und das ist der Mühe wert, das Bild eines solchen Menschen in einem solchen Zeitpunkt unter solchen Zeitgenossen zu vervielfältigen! Wegen Nachrichten von Franklins Leben weiss ich Ihnen nichts zu liefern.” He already makes note that the date of Franklin’s birth, January 17, 1706, at Boston, is marked upon the copper plate. . . . “Seine Lebensgeschichte recht nur von Meisterhand bearbeitet, wird in Ihrer Monatsschrift eine köstliche Perle sein. . . . Denn der selbstdenkende, erfinderische Kopf, helle Verstand, der richtige tiefe philosophische Blick in Natur und Wissenschaft in das All unserer Verhältnisse und in das Gewebe von Guten und Bösen, woraus wie aus Aufzug und Einschlag das grosse Lebensgespenst besteht—der ist gewiss ein Phänomen in unseren Zeiten; auch ohne die Rolle die er mit so ganz unbegreiflichem Erfolge gespielt, und worin die Vorsehung ihr Recht, die Schicksale der Völker zu wägen und das ‘Mene Mene, Tekel’ darüber zu sprechen so sicherlich behauptet hat.”

Biester felt confident that his readers would partake of the noble enthusiasm for Franklin, which his friend so deeply felt and regrets that his knowledge of the life of this American was so limited. The early strivings and endeavors of the poor printer, who attained at the age of 77 such a lofty position, as the representative of his native land at foreign courts afforded to the mind of the author an example that was worthy of emulation

by his fellow-countrymen. He gives a list of Franklin's honors and official positions. "Franklin's ganzer Titel, woraus man seine Kenntnisse, Ämter und Beschäftigungen einigermaßen ersehen kann ist folgender: Der Rechte Doktor, Mitglied der königlichen Gesellschaften der Wissenschaften zu London, zu Paris, zu Göttingen und der batavischen Gesellschaft in Holland, u. s. w." He emphasizes the strong-minded and friendly soul, which the portrait seems to convey to the spectator. Then turning to his works, which give even a clearer impression of his intellect, heart and character, he regrets that the German translation of Franklin's works is so imperfect. "Auch seit einiger Zeit in einer deutschen Übersetzung haben wir des Herrn D. B. Franklins sämtliche Werke. Aus dem Englischen und Französischem übersetzt. Von G. T. Wenzel, Dresden, 1780. In drei starken Grossoktav-Bänden. Aber herzlich wünschte ich, dass diese Überstzung sich angenehmes fließenderes Deutsch durch leichte Wendungen, und die ganze simple Grazie des Originals *empföhle*.

"Franklin's grosse Verdienste um die Naturlehre sind bekannt; sein Kompendium der Physik wird geschrieben, worin seiner nicht gedacht wird. Der Leser kann hier die vornehmsten von ihm behandelten Gegenstände übersehen. In sehr vielen derselben hat er Entdeckungen gemacht, wodurch die Wissenschaft ungemein fortgeführt und erweitert ist; in allen aber neue Ideen geliefert, die von der grössten Fruchtbarkeit sind." . . . Turning to electricity he says: "Aber die Elektrizität, diese merkwürdige, und vielleicht noch immer nicht genug beobachtete, wenigstens nicht genug angewandte Kraft der Natur, hat vorzüglich ihn beschäftigt und vorzüglich grosse Entdeckungen von ihm aufzuweisen. Wer kennt nicht, wenigstens litterarisch, seine Theorie, die auch fast allgemein angenommen wird, und nun noch sehr wenige Gegner an Nollets Anhängern findet? Ein Vorzug den sie durch das sehr Leichte, Einfache und Natürliche ihrer Grundsätze verdient, und bei den grössten Elektrikern Europas erhalten hat." . . . He goes on to describe the electrical festival that was given under Dr. Franklin's direction on the banks of the Schuylkill, which the Doctor himself described in his letter

to Peter Collinson. "Doch was schon allein ihn unsterblich machen müsste, ist die vorzüglich so praktische Anwendung der Lehre der Elektrizität auf die Theorie der Gewitter." Biester firmly asserts that Franklin was not the first who treated the subject of lightning, and that the electrical spark and storm material were one and the same thing. "[Franklin kam zuerst auf diesen Gedanken, der aber schon von Winkler in Leipzig in einem Werke, das ein Jahr früher gedruckt ward, vorgetragen ist nämlich: 'die Stärke der elektrischen Kraft des Wassers in gläsernen Gefässer, welche durch den Müsschenbröckschen Versuch bekannt geworden,' Leipzig, 1746; wo das ganze Hauptstück umständlich davon handelt.] Aber das grosse Verdienst hat er, dass er nun weiter schloss, man müsse den Blitz, wie die Elektrizität, ableiten können; und dass er die Werkzeuge erfand, welche Schiffe, Häuser und die ganze Stadt sichern, welche die Herrschaft des menschlichen Geistes über die mächtigsten Elemente und die furchtbarsten Symptome der Natur am deutlichsten zeigen, und uns in den Stand setzen, mit Blitzen fast so sicher als mit gemalten Theaterflammen zu spielen." He continues with a criticism of Franklin's hasty hypotheses, but grants him natural ability: "Franklin sagt eins von sich selbst: er hatte nicht Geduld genug um oft Versuche anzustellen, sein schneller feuriger Geist reisse ihn gleich zu Hypothesen hin. Allerdings ist es wohl wahr, dass seine anderweilige Thätigkeit und vielleicht sein ganzer Charakter ihn hindert, Experimente auf die Art anzustellen. . . . Aber er hat ein immer offenes Auge, einen immer wachen Beobachtungsgeist für alle Gegenstände der Natur und Kunst, die ihn umringen; davon zeugen alle seine Briefe und all Erzählungen seiner Theorien oder Hypothesen, die durch Bemerkungen auf seinen Reisen oder sonst bei ihm zur Reife kamen; und diese Gabe der Natur ist vielleicht so stark bei ihm weil kein eingesperrtes Gelehrtenleben sie frühe geschwächt hat. Über die so bemerkten natürlichen Phanömene, oder auch über Experimente, die seine Freunde ihm mitteilen, sinnt der aufmerksame Naturmann nach, hält sie mit vorigen Bemerkungen zusammen, und er schafft dann durch seinen scharfsinnigen feinen Spürengeist so glückliche Hypothesen, dass er uns die grösste Bewunde-

zung abzwingt. . . .” In regard to his style one of the best criticisms we have in the German language is this: “Sein Vortrag ist, auch wohl eben darum, ungemein deutlich und vorzüglich simpel; nie ein Anschein von Gelehrsamkeit, nirgends die Miene eines Compendiums. Alles sind einzelne Bemerkungen mit ihrer ganzen Veranlassung uns angenehm erzählt, kurze Sätze, kleine Abhandlungen, leichte Briefe an Freunde, an Frauenzimmer, u. s. w. Man nimmt Theil daran, man ermüdet nie, man findet so viel Abwechselung in der Darstellungsart als in den Gegenständen selbst. Dieser feine Geist des Weltmanns, dieser gesunde Natursinn des unpedantischen Weisen lebt und webt überall in seinen Schriften; und Munterkeit und Feuer zeigt sich auch in den spätesten Aufsätzen des liebenswürdigen Greises.”

The discussion of Franklin's Harmonica shows the keen appreciation of this discovery. Franklin possessed musical knowledge and theoretical plans for musical improvements. “Das feine Gefühl des überall wirksamen Mannes und das Universelle seines Originalgenies dehnte sich auch auf schöne Künste aus. In den mehrsten angesehenen Städten Deutschlands hat man wohl die Harmonika gehört, ein Instrument das an Zartheit und Süßigkeit so sehr zum Herzen spricht, wie sonst nie ohne Gesang ein Toninstrument that; und das jede Abstufung der Stärke des Tons auf das Vollkommenste ausdrückt, und vorzüglich das sanfteste Piano was die Kunst kennt, angiebt. Dies entzückende Instrument ist von Franklins Erfindung. Die Beschreibung, die er selbst in seines Brief an P. Bekkaria in Turin davongiebt. . . . Auch finden sich einige theoretische Betrachtungen über die Musik, vortreffliche Anmerkungen über den Gesang und das schickliche Versmass eines Volksliedes, über die unruhige Deklamation unserer bewunderesten Arien.”

Franklin's activity in the political field is his next subject of discussion: “Ich komme zu den wichtigern Beschäftigungen des grossen Mannes, denn so glaube ich ist allerdings die Politik und Staatsökonomie zu nennen. Zwar hat mich der Brief des guten frommen Bekkaria an Franklin innig gerührt, wo er seinen Freund beschwört, doch ja nicht die Physik für die Politik fahren

zu lassen, doch ja die ewigen Gesetze der Natur und des Schöpfers zu studiren als die veränderlichen Einrichtungen schwacher Menschen. . . . Aber sein Freund sah, dass die Leidenschaften und Wünsche der Menschen nach ebenso ewigen Gesetzen geordnet sind, als Aufgang und Niedergang der Gestirne. Auch hier, wie bei der Physik, kann man Franklin's Verdienst um die Theorie und um die Anwendung unterscheiden. Im Allgemeinen hat er die wichtigen Punkte in ein helles Licht gesetzt, als die Grundsätze von der Bevölkerung, von der wahrscheinlichen Vermehrung der Menschen, vom Handel, von industrie, häuslichen Fleisse, vom Getreidepreise, von der Behandlung der Armen, von Religionsduldung, ein um so wichtigerer Punkt, da die Intoleranz einiger Gegenden von Nordamerika (der Bostonianismus) wenigstens ehemals bekannt genug war. Die Hauptgrundsätze der französischen Ökonomen, die von den deutschen Physiokraten angenommen worden, hat er zusammen gedrängt und vielleicht deutlicher vorgetragen, als von einem Schriftsteller dieser Partei selbst mag geschehen sein."

On page 35 we read: "Von Franklin ist der mit Recht so bewunderte Aufsatz, *Der arme Jacob*, der frei übersetzt im zweiten Theile von Engels *Der Philosoph für die Welt* steht. Von Franklin ist vortreffliche Parabel im Stil des alten Testaments, von dem Fremden der Abraham besuchte und nicht auf gleiche Weise zu Gott betete, die im dritten Theile von Nicholais *Noth-anker* steht. Von ihm ist auch eine scharfe Ironie von der Art, wie sie von mehreren Schriftstellern in England öfter ist gebraucht worden."⁸⁹

Johann Jakob Moser in his book entitled *Nord-Amerika nach den Friedensschlüssen vom Jahre 1783*, Band I, Seite 752, writes: "Das Ministerium verfuhr zu hart gegen die Kolonien, und die Letzteren, trieben ihre Beschwerden zu hoch . . . und hatten noch keine genügsame Ursachen, sich der Oberherrschaft von Grossbritannien zu entziehen; ihre Häupter aber sahen mehr auf ihren einträglichen Schleichhandel als auf Recht und Billigkeit und werden nebst dem sonst viele Verdienste habenden D.

⁸⁹ *Berlinische Monatsschrift*, II. Bd., S. 11-38.

Franklin, bei der jetzigen und zukünftigen ehrbaren Welt allemal als meineidige Untertanen passieren."

Again, we read S. 837: "Nur ein Mann hat über die Geschichte seines Landes geschrieben, Franklin, aber sein Beispiel hat keinen Nachfolger gefunden. Der Amerikaner, der nur Schätze sammeln, nur gemessen will, ist überzeugt, dass die Wissenschaften nicht der Weg sind, der ihn zu seinem Zwecke führen könnte. . . . Washington und Franklin wollen uns die alten Klassiker bekannt machen."

The *Gothaer Gelehrte Zeitschrift*, 1783, S. 262, makes mention of this article from a report from New York, printed the 11th of November, 1782, where Moser says that Professor Achenwall was informed of America's condition by Dr. Franklin. (See Achenwall's *Geschichte der englischen Kolonien*. I. Th. S. 19 ff.)

In the *Berlinische Monatschrift*, Berlin, Oktober, 1783, Band II, S. 307-308, we find an article entitled: *Erinnerung gegen eine Stelle in Franklin's Leben*. Von Herrn Meissner:

"Für den Aufsatz des Herrn D. Biesters über Franklin werden dem Verfasser gewiss viele Leser der *Berlinischen Monatschrift* verbunden gewesen sein. Nur darin irrt er sich zum Erfinder der 'Geschichte von Abraham', die nachher dem Sebaldu Nothanker eingeschaltet worden. Franklin ist hier ein Wiedererzähler dessen, was längst vor ihm der Perser Saadi erfunden oder auch vielleicht nur aufgeschrieben hat. Bekannt ist desselben Gelistan oder Rosenthal; etwas minder sein Bustan oder Blumengarten. Doch verdiente auch dieser; denn er ist der erhabendsten Sentenzen, und der unterhaltendsten Geschichten voll. Da er schon seit vielen Jahren von mir gelesen und wiedergelesen worden, so will ich Ihnen hier diese Geschichte abschreiben, wie sie im zweiten Abschnitte des zweiten Buches von Bustan steht." Here he includes the story entitled *Schick Sadi, Persisches Rosenthal nebst Locmans Fabeln*. Wittenberg und Zerbst. Bei Samuel Gottfried Zimmermann, 1775."

We find in the *Historisch-Genealogischer Calendar für 1784*, by Spener of Berlin, a portrait of Franklin, with this note beneath: "Dr. Franklin erhält als Gesandter des Amerikanischen Frey Staats seine erste Audienze in Frankreich zu Ver-

sailles am 20ten März, 1788." It represents Franklin standing before the throne of Louis XVI, with eight councillors present in the background. No doubt Franklin had sent this portrait to Charles Spener, in answer to his request for material to be used in his almanac, which appeared under the title *Historisch-Genealogischer Calender, oder Jahrbuch der merkwürdigsten Neuen Welt-Begbenheiten für 1784*, Leipzig, bei Spener von Berlin. On page 63 of this magazine we read this praise of Franklin: "Dieser eifrige warme Vertheidiger seiner Landsleute, dem Amerika beynahe einzig seine Freiheit zu verdanken hat." Page 172: "Mit welcher männlichen Entschlossenheit, mit welcher unermüdeten Thätigkeit und mit welcher seltner Weisheit" he performed all his political activities; and page 174: "Amerika wird ihm als seinem Schutzgott und Wohlthäter Altäre bauen, und auch den Namen des Mannes mit Achtung nennen, dem mit jedem Blitzableiter ein Monument errichtet wird."

Johann Georg Zimmermann in *Über die Einsamkeit*, Leipzig, 1784, Band II, S. 9, says: "Eine Zahl Spindelgeister erinnert man sich vielleicht die vor einigen Jahren sich über alle Bande des Universums hinwegsetzen . . . Sie hatten das Äussere versucht. Aber sie waren weder Rousseau noch Franklin und in der menschlichen Gesellschaft was ein Rad ohne Zähne in einem Uhrwerk, welches nirgends ergreifen kann, und um es anstösst den ganzen Mechanismus verwirrte." On page 33 Zimmermann praises Franklin's style of writing and repeats Biester's appreciation as already given.

"Ein vortrefflicher deutscher Schriftsteller hat in einem meisterhaften Aufsätze über Franklin's Leben gesagt: Franklin's Vortrag habe nie einen Anschein von Gelehrsamkeit, nirgends die Miene eines Compendiums. . . ." Zimmermann later, however, in reply to a letter from G. Sulzer on February 22, 1777, takes a different attitude toward this celebrated American, whom he sees so busied in the political meshes of diplomacy. He says: "Den alten Franklin soll man nie für einen guten Mann gehalten haben."⁷⁰

⁷⁰ Boddemann, J. G. Zimmermann, S. 261

M. C. Sprengel discusses the population of Pennsylvania with reference to the article by Achenwall in the *Göttinger Calendar Über den jetzigen Nordamerikanischen Krieg*, page 103, but in the more important of these discussions is his opinion expressed thus: "Man liess sich mit einigen Colonien in Unterhandlung ein, und damals war es wie Herr Franklin, dieser eifrige warme Vertheidiger seiner Landsleute, dem Amerika beinahe einzig seine Freiheit zu verdanken hat, und aus dessen Schriften der Congress grossentheils seine Gründe zur Behauptung der nordamerikanischen Gerechtsame gegen England entlehnt hat." Here he gives also details of Franklin's birth in Boston and describes the growing spirit of freedom: "Diese Begriffe von bürgerlicher Freiheit und Unabhängigkeit erhellen, durch Vergleichung und Prüfung in Franklin's philosophischem Kopfe, eine nähere richtige Verstimung, und mit welcher einer männlichen Entschlossenheit, mit welcher unermüdeten Thätigkeit und mit seltener Weisheit er sie nachdem zum Glück seines Vaterlandes angewendet hat, davon sind wir seine Zeitgenossen Zeugen gewesen, und vermöge des öffentlichen Charakters, den er sowohl am englischen als am französischen Hofe bekleidet, von dem Gange und Erfolge seiner Bemühungen genügsam unterrichtet."⁷¹ (A portrait of Franklin as envoy at the Court of Versailles is given.) He praises his political qualifications and his discoveries and considers that he filled in the cabinet the same important position that Washington occupied as head of the continental forces.

Charles Spener, author of the *Historisch-Genealogischer Calendar*, 1784, writes to Franklin the following, showing us that Sprengel through him received direct information of American conditions from Franklin, although no draft of the answer which Franklin made to these inquiries can be found:

"Monsieur:

"Ayant dessein de publier vers la fin de septembre, un almanac américain en allemand pour l'Année prochaine, & désirant le décorer de plusieurs estamps y relatives, dont la composition ne doit point être idéale; c'est à vous Monsieur et à Votre portefeuille,

⁷¹ *Geschichte der Revolution von Nord-Amerika*, S. 162; von M. C. Sprengel, 1785.

qui doit être très riche en tout ce qui a rapport à l'histoire des Colonies anglo-américaines que j'ose recourir, bien que je n'aye point l'honneur à Vous être connu.

“Permettez Monsieur, que je Vous expose brièvement le plan de cet Almanac et qu'ensuite je demande notre gracieuse assistance, soit pour des renseignements, soit pour les articles mêmes dont j'ai besoin et que certainement personne n'est mieux en état de me fournir que Vous Monsieur !

“L'Almanac contiendra en premier lieu l'histoire de la Revolution d'après les meilleurs Auteurs et les avis les plus veridiques que l'on ai pû je procurer, ce Sujet fera orner de graveures historiques, représentant les evenemens les plus remarquables de cette guerre. En second lieu : Galerie des grands hommes de l'amérique avec un précis de leur carrière politique ou militaire décorée de leurs portraits copiés sur ceux desinés par Du Simitier à Philadelphie et sur d'autres qui ont paru en Angleterre. Come Vous tenez Monsieur en si haut sway parmi les grands hommes d l'Amérique—je vous demande, si votre Portrait, tel qu'il a été gravé en 1781 par Pelicier pour l'essay sur les Anglo Americains est assez ressemblant pour pouvoir me servir de modèle?

“La partie historique de cet Almanac étant confiée à un de nos meilleurs historiens le Sr. Sprengel, Professeur d'Histoire à l'universite de Halle, qui possède fond l'anglais et toutes les connaissances & qualités qui constituent le bon historien, j'ose me flatter, que son Ouvrage meritera votre approbation. . . .

“Enfin permettez moi d'ajouter que le temps d'ici à la fin de septembre terme fini pour la publication des Almanacs de votre pays, n'était guères éloigné & l'exécution des différentes gravures exigeant un temps considerable, en me fournissant bientôt possible les matereaux que me manquent vous ajouterez infiniment au prix du bienfait que je sollicite.” He continues here with a plea for American portraits of such men as John Adams, Sr. Payne, Dr. Warren, who was killed at Bunker Hill, General Montgomery, and Sr. Paul Jones, Commodore in the service of the thirteen United States. He also asks for various coins of American money, for paper money, for the coat of arms of the colonies and for a minute description of the uniforms worn by

American troops and details of the lives of Washington and Gates with any other mementoes, that might be interesting and instructive to be embodied in his almanac. The above letter is signed by Charles Spener, librarian of the King, and written from Berlin the 26th of May, 1783.⁷²

"C. A. Meyer writes to Kronau from Rothenburg, February 8, 1874, the following in praise of Franklin's construction of the Harmonica: "Auf Deroselben Schreiben vom 19 Jan. Melde Eu. in schuldiger Antwort, dass meine Harmonica von der Franklinschen weiter nichts an sich hat, als die äussere Figur und Befestigung der Glocken. . . . Die Bewegung des Franklinschen ist am Schwingrade mit einer Schleife angebracht; man kann nicht damit zwar die Glocken bewegen, allein beim Aufsteigen derselben kann man nicht helfen, und beim Crescendo und Forte muss die Maschine leicht gehemmt werden und still stehen; da man bei der Art, wie ich eingerichtet habe, durch am Fusstritt angebrachten Riemen, sowohl beim Auf- als Absteigen der Glocken, zu jederzeit der Bewegung neue Kraft geben kann."⁷³

In Georg Forster's *Erinnerungen aus dem Jahre 1790*, Band VI, III. Teil; *Kleine Schriften*, S. 204-208, is a treatment of Benjamin Franklin: "Eripuit Caelo Fulmen, mox sceptrum tyrannis." "Wer sich unter dem Manne der dem Himmel seine Blitze und den Tyrannen ihre Scepter entwendete: einen Titanischen, einen hundertarmigen Riesen, oder einen von Menschenblut triefenden Eroberer vorgestellt hätte, der würde kaum glauben und begreifen können, dass die Züge des hier beigefügten Bildnisses jenem Wunderthate darstellen. So rätselhaft es aber klingen mag, so giebt es doch wirklich ein Mittel, womit man den Donner und seine irdischen Stellvertreter entwaffnen kann, ohne sich an die Spitze einer halben Million disciplinirter folgsamer Myrmidonen zu stellen und einen unerschöpflichen Schatz zu besitzen:

⁷² A. P. S.

⁷³ *Journal von und für Deutschland 1784*. Herausgegeben von Frh. von Bibra und Goekingk. Julius (1784), S. 3.

Mention of Franklin in a Hamburg publication 1788: *Über das Rauchen der Kamine und der Schornsteine in einem Schreiben des Herrn Dr. Benjamin Franklin an Herrn Dr. Ingenhousz in Wien*. Aus dem Englischen übersetzt mit Anmerkungen von P. H. C. B.

ja, was noch mehr ist, wenn man einen Menschen findet, der so aussieht wie dieser Benjamin Franklin, so darf man sich ziemlich sicher darauf verlassen, dass jenes Mittel bescheiden sei. Wir wollen uns zuvörderst die Züge dieses merkwürdigen Mannes von einem Dichter deuten lassen.

“Sein offner Blick ist aller Wesen Freund;
 Der innere Friede ruht auf seinen Augenbrau'n,
 Und wie ein Fels, zu dem sich Wolken nie erheben,
 Scheint über'n Erdenstand die reine Stirn zu schweben,
 Den Rost der Welt, der Leidenschaften Spur,
 Hat längst der Fluss der Zeit von ihr hinweggewaschen.
 Fiel eine Kron' ihm zu, und es bedürfte nur
 Sie mit der Hand im Fallen aufzuhaschen,
 Er streckte nicht die Hand. Verschlossen der Begier,
 Von keiner Furcht, von keinem Schmerz betroffen,
 Ist nur dem Wahren noch die heitere Seele offen,
 Nur offen der Natur, und rein gestimmt zu ihr.

WIELAND.

“So lange das Menschengeschlecht der Macht des Beispiels bedarf wird dieser Mann leben und wirken. Benjamin Franklin steht noch unter der kleinen Anzahl von Menschen, in denen die Würde der menschlichen Natur in vollem Glanz erschienen ist. Darf der Name des Weisen einem Sterblichen beigelegt werden, so gebührt er dem Manne, der in unserem Zeitalter sich selbst einen so grossen Wirkungskreis schuf, ohne sich die geringste Beeinträchtigung eines Anderen zu erlauben; der sein ganzes Leben der Belehrung seiner Landsleute widmete, ohne alle Anmassung; der alles entbehren gelernt hatte und dennoch mit unermüdeter Thätigkeit arbeitete; der mit unbestechlicher Vernunft bis an sein Ende, Freiheit, Gerechtigkeit, Frieden, Brudertreue, Liebe und gegenseitige Duldung predigte; und in jeder dieser Tugenden mit grossem Beispiele vorging.

“Amerika ist glücklich, dass es so bald nach der Gründung seiner gesitteten Staaten aus ihrem Schosse den Weisen hervorgehen sah, dessen innere Harmonie, ihm gleichsam die Natur unterwarf, ihn zur Entdeckung des Wahren in allen ihren Verhält-

nissen führte, und ihn zum Lehrer seiner Brüder bestimmte. Die Unabhängigkeit vom brittischen Parlamente hätten die Amerikaner ohne ihn errungen; die moralische Freiheit, die heilige Achtung für die Vernunft in jedem einzelnen Menschen und die innige Anerkennung der Pflicht, eines Jeden Überzeugung und Glauben zu ehren; dies alles, nebst manchen Anleitungen zur praktischen Lebensweisheit und so manchen einfachen, häuslichen Einrichtungen, die in jenen angehenden Niederlassungen zur Bequemlichkeit gereichen, verdanken sie ihm. Das Licht welches er verbreitete, blieb nicht in einem Welttheil verschlossen; sein Blick in dem innern Zusammenhang der Natur kam auch unserer Schwachheit zu Hülfe, und indem er bewies, dass die Materie der Gewitter mit der zarten Flüssigkeit die wir im Harz, im Bernstein, im Glas kannten und bereits durch Metall zu leiten wussten, ganz von einerlei Beschaffenheit sei, ehrte, er zugleich das Mittel uns und unsere Gebäude vor dem zündenden Blitzstrahl zu sichern. Was er aber für die Rechte vernünftiger Wesen für die Freiheit des Menschengeschlechts gesprochen und mit unwiderlegbaren Gründen für seine Mitbürger, ins besondere sonnenklar bewiesen hat, das steht auch diesseits des Ozeans fest, als ein ewiger Damm gegen die Tyrannei der willkürlichen Gewalt." He strongly praises Franklin's abhorrence of bloodshed and love of peace. "Vernunft und nur durch Vernunft mögliche Tugend, also wieder nur Vernunft und nichts als Vernunft ist der Zauber womit Benjamin Franklin den Himmel und die Erde bezwang, . . . der humanste Mensch und der glücklichste von allen, die im achtzehnten Jahrhundert zu Mitarbeitern am grossen Vollendungswerk menschlicher Glückseligkeit auserkoren waren, hiess Benjamin Franklin." The picture accompanying this article represents Franklin's grandson kneeling before Voltaire, while Franklin, with hands folded as in prayer, awaits the French philosopher's benediction. "Gott, Freiheit, Friede. Mit diesen Segenswörtern weihte der Hinscheidende Greis Voltaire den Jüngling William Temple Franklin zum Menschen Gott! Freiheit! Friede! betete der alte Franklin; und Gott, Freiheit und Friede waren in ihren Herzen."

NEKROLOG AUF DAS JAHR 1790.

Friedrich Schlichtegroll. Göthe, 1791. Band I, S. 262-265.
Den 17ten April.

In a chapter entitled "Autobiography" Schlichtegroll gives the following account, which he has taken from "Memoires de la vie Privée de Benjamin Franklin", Paris, 1791: "In dieser Rücksicht hätte uns der unsterbliche Mann kein grösseres Geschick hinterlassen können, als die Geschichte seiner Jugend von ihm selbst geschrieben, deren Authenticität, wenn gleich vor jetzt noch ohne weiteren Beweis aus innern Gründen mehr als wahrscheinlich ist." On page 266 of this same article we read: "Alles ist da räthsellos und begreiflich und in unserer Erfahrung begründet und darum wird uns der Mensch, der da ist, wie unser einer, und doch ausserordentliche Dinge bewirkte, nur um desto lieber. . . . Jedes Gewitter, dem wir nun mit Ruhe als einem prächtigen nicht mehr als einem furchtbaren Schauspiele zusehen, jeder Ton der süssesten aller künstlichen Harmonien, jedes Schiff aus dem freien Amerika soll uns an ihn erinnern, und es bedarf nur der einfachsten Darstellung dessen, was er war und gethan hat, um diese öftern Erinnerungen mit ebenso oft wiederholten Gefühlen der Bewunderung und Verehrung zu begleiten."

In the *Deutsches Magazin*, C. N. D. von Eggers, Band VI, Dezember, 1793, Seite 1443, the author prints a letter of Dr. Franklin to the Abbé Soulaire in regard to the theory of Mines, not yet appearing in his collective works. We also read the following mention of two manuscripts of Dr. Franklin's which appear in none of his works. These are as follows: "1. *Briefe an den Abt Soulaire in Anleihung einiger mir zugesandten Bemerkungen, die er aus meiner Unterredung mit ihm über die Theorie der Erde entlehnt hatte.*

"Passy, den 22. September, 1782.

"Mein Herr:

"Ich sende Ihnen das Manuscript mit einigen Berichtigungen zurück. Ich fand keine Kohlenminen unter Kalkfelsen in Derbyshire. Ich bemerke blos, dass an den niedrigsten Stellen dieses felsigen Gebirgs die zu Tage lagen Austerschalen mit dem Gestein vermengt waren. . . ."

2. The second manuscript is entitled *Hingeworfene Gedanken über ein allgemeines Fluidum*. This letter containing the above speculation on general electrical fluid, its constituents and powers useful for discovery and experiment, was written from Passy the 25th of June, 1784.

We read a reference to the following work of Franklin in *Historische Vergleichung der Sitten und Verfassungen der Gesetze und Gewerbe des Handels und der Religion der Wissenschaften und Lehranstalten*. III Bände, Hannover, 1794. "*Mémoires de la vie privée de Benjamin Franklin écrit par lui-même, servi d'un précis historique de sa vie Politique, et de plusieurs pièces relatives à ce père de la liberté*, Paris, 1791."

Dr. B. Franklins erweitertes Lehrgebäude der natürlichen Elektrizität. D. E. G. Wien, 1790.—*Vorerinnerung*.

"Seitdem des verklärten verehrungswürdigsten Vaters Franklins, der als Künstler die edle Buchdruckerei auch in Amerika fest gründete, als Naturforscher die wohlthätige Erfindung für Menschen machte, erweiterte; als Staatsmann und obrigkeitliche Person den Grund mitlegte worauf nach und nach die amerikanischen freyen vereinigten Provinzen unerschütterliche Wurzeln gewinnen, gründen und blühen werden."

(The seventh chapter of this book is entitled *Bruchstücke als Materialien des Franklinschen Lehrgebäudes der natürlichen atmosphärischen Elektrizität damit zu erweitern u. zu befestigen*.)

Franklins von ihm selbst verfertigte Grabschrift.

"Hier liegt der Körper Benjamin Franklins, eines Buchdruckers, gleich dem Bande eines alten Buches, dessen Blätter abgenutzt sind, seiner Verzierungen und Vergoldungen beraubt, als Speise für die Würmer. Doch das Werk selbst wird nicht verloren gehen, sondern in einer neuen von dem Verfasser verbesserten und vermehrten Ausgabe erscheinen."

This Grabschrift is a translation made from Franklin's own inscription, as given to us in *Handbibliothek für Freunde*, by Johann Kaspar Lavater, Band VI, Seite 41, 1793.

In 1794 C. Milon published his *Denkwürdigkeiten zur Geschichte Benjamin Franklins*, in which his appreciation is clearly expressed thus:

“Allein ich habe ungeachtet der Schwierigkeit eines solchen Unternehmens, der Begierde nicht widerstehen können, einen Versuch über das Leben dieses berühmten Mannes zu schreiben, in welchem man den scharfsichtigen Philosophen und den geschicktesten Politiker erkennt. Da er das Innerste der menschlichen Natur genau kannte, so wusste er die Tugenden und die Laster, sowie die Thorheiten und Schwachheiten seiner Mitmenschen zu seinem eigenen Ansehen auf eine geschickte Art zu gebrauchen.”

Dr. David Ramsay this same year gave his German translation, *Geschichte der amerikanischen Revolution aus den Akten des Congresses* (aus dem Englischen).

“In dieser Absicht (um einen bürgerlichen Krieg abzuwenden) hielten Dr. Fothergill, Herr David Barclay und Dr. Franklin zu London verschiedene Conferenzen über die amerikanischen Angelegenheiten. Der letztere war ein Amerikaner von Geburt, der alle gute Menschen liebte und von allen geliebt ward.” (S. 315.)

“Franklin, Herr Adams und Herr Jefferson hatten den Auftrag Handlungsbündnisse mit auswärtigen Mächten zu schliessen. Es gelang ihnen bei dem König von Preussen und dem Kaiser von Morocco.” (S. 346.)

Benjamin Franklin. Kleine Schriften. Aus dem Englischen. Appeared in Weimar, 1794, from the pen of G. Schatz. On page 2 he says:

“Unter den grossen Männern die unser Jahrhundert hervor gebracht hat, ist Franklin nach dem allgemeinen Urtheil aller, die hierüber eine Stimme haben, einer der Ersten. . . . Sein Ruhm und seine Grösse als Erfinder, als Staatsmann, als gründlicher Kenner von mehr als einer Wissenschaft, als lehrreicher und geistvoller Schriftsteller sind entschieden. *Die kleine Schriften*—Der grösste Theil derselben betrifft Gegenstände der Politik und Philosophie des Lebens. Auch der kleinste und minder wich-

tigste trägt unverkennbar das Gepräge der Originalität und ist wenigstens von einem Funken des Geistes beseelt, der wohin er auch nur einen flüchtigen Blick war, überall Licht und Wärme verbreitete."

Dr. Benjamin Franklin's Leben. Tübingen, 1795.

Seite 7:

"Dr. Benjamin Franklin ist einer von den wenigen Menschen, die ganz allein durch eigene Anstrengung gross und berühmt geworden ist, ohne dass Reichtum, oder vornehme Geburt oder Verbindungen mit mächtigen Menschen ihm zur Stütze gedient hätten."

b. *Franklin in German Literature of the Nineteenth Century.*

Johann Christian August Bauer, in his book entitled *Franklin und Washington*, Berlin, 1806, Volume VIII, page 53, writes as follows:

"Im Jahre 1742 machten mehrere deutsche Gelehrte elektrische Versuche, vorzüglich der Professor Bose, in Wittemberg, Winkler in Leipzig, Gordon in Erfurt und Ludolf in Berlin, und setzten durch ihre Entdeckungen ganz Europa in Erstaunen. . . . Um das Jahr 1745 sendete Collinson der Bibliothek-Gesellschaft von Philadelphia, eine genaue Beschreibung ihrer Entdeckungen, nebst eine Elektrisirmaschine, und die Anweisung sich ihrer zu bedienen. . . . Franklin und einige seiner Freunde machten sogleich eine Reihe Experimente. Er war bald im Stande, wichtige Entdeckungen zu machen und gab den Grund verschiedener Erscheinungen an. Seine Ideen wurden gleich mit allgemeinem Beifall aufgenommen und haben seinen Namen verewigt."

The construction of Franklin's "Harmonika" is treated in detail in this work:

Ernst Ludwig Gerber, *Neues historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Tonkünste*, Band IV, 1812-1814.

Ludwig Christian Lichtenberg und Friedrich Kries published *Die vermischten Schriften*, von Georg Christoph Lichtenberg.

We find in Part V of this volume, page 316, a letter directed to Lieutenant Rion, which runs thus: "Bei Lesung dieser Geschichte fielen mir einige Gedanken des grossen Franklin wieder ein, die er in einem Schreiben an Herrn Le Roy zu Paris äusserte, und die von Commandierenden sowohl als Eigentümern von Schiffen nie genug beherzigt werden können. Ich lese nun (schrieb der philosophische Greis im August 1785 und zwar auf der See an Bord des Londonschen Packetboots) fast siebenzig ganze Jahre Zeitungen und wenige Jahre gingen vorbei, dass ich nicht Nachrichten gelesen hätte von Schiffen, die man ohne einem Seile an Bord und mit Wasser im Raum herumschurend ange-troffen hätte, oder von anderen die in gleichem Zustand ans Land geworfen wären."

On page 318 he writes: "Franklin ist überzeugt, dass man dies Kriegsschiff, wo wegen der Grösse der Conservation die Zahl der leeren Wasserfässer sehr beträchtlich sein muss, in der Schlacht noch vom Sinken hätte gerettet werden können, wenn man es zur beständigen Regel gemacht hätte, die ausgetrunkenen Fässer jedes Mal fest zuzuschlagen und an solche Orte der Ver-wahrung zu bringen, dass sie noch frei schwimmen können."

In an earlier edition of this work, *Göttingen*, 1801, page 148, this reference is made: "Newton, Franklin, das waren Menschen die beneidenswerth sind."

Heinrich Elsner in *Befreiungskampf der nordamerikanischen Staaten, mit den Lebensbeschreibungen der vier berühmten Männer derselben, Washington, Lafayette, Franklin und Kosciuszko*, Stuttgart, 1835, pp. 658-691, discusses Franklin:

"Franklin, dessen Name zwar nicht unter den Helden prangt, noch durch glänzende, in die Augen fallende Handlungen berühmt geworden ist, der aber durch seine stille Verdienste um sein Vaterland eine Bürgerkrone, durch seine Erfindungen eine der ersten Stellen unter den Wohlthätern der Menschheit erworben . . . mit seinem Leben darf man behaupten, ist eines der herrlichsten Weltlichter erlöschen. . . . Vielleicht lebte nie ein Mann dessen Leben mit mehreren Rechten nützlich genannt werden kann. Nie ging etwas durch seine Hände, das er

nicht vollkommen gemacht hätte. Sein ganzes Leben war eine Predigt gegen Eitelkeit, Überschwenglichkeit und Stolz. Es war ihm Hauptzweck den Menschen Liebe zum Fleiss, zur Mässigkeit und Sparsamkeit einzuflössen und alle Pflichten einzuschärfen, welche die wichtigen Interessen der Menschheit fördern."

Reference to Franklin's visit to Germany we find again on page 129 of *The Life of Dr. Benjamin Franklin*, written by himself, to which are added essays by the same author, *Mit einem Wörterbuch zum Schul- und Privatgebrauch*, Carlsruhe, 1838:

"In the year 1766 he made a visit to Holland and Germany and received greatest marks of attention from men of science."

Dr. Bergk in *Franklin's Goldnes Schatzkästlein*, Quedlinburg und Leipzig, 1839, in his Vorrede writes: "Was Franklin lehrt ist fast immer ausführbar, was er sagt ist nützlich und was er getan hat ist beinahe jeder Zeit der Nachahmung werth."

G. B. Niebuhr in *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Revolution*, Bd. I, S. 93, Hamburg, 1845, discusses the American Revolution (Vorlesungen zu Bonn, 1829), and gives clearly his estimate of Franklin:

"Die vornehmsten jungen Männer waren mit Enthusiasmus nach Amerika gegangen; Leute die nur Sybarinismus und Regellosigkeit des Orients wünschten, ergaben sich der Demokratie und huldigten der neuen Quäkerrepublik und Franklin in seinem einfachen Quäker Kleide im Gegenstand der Bewegung der glänzendsten Damen von Paris. (Franklin ist keineswegs mein Held und es ist unbegreiflich wie man ihn in dem falschen Glanze stehen lassen kann, den man um ihn gebildet hat.)"

In Leipzig, 1845, Julius Kell published his *Lebensbeschreibung Benjamin Franklins*. Clearly he approves of Franklin's life and activities: "Möchten doch recht Viele aus unserem Volke von dem Manne lernen, der so viel gelernt, so viel erlernt, so viel geredet, so viel gethan, der so viel gekämpft hat. . . . Möchte die Geschichte des in Franklins Leben tief ergreifenden Freiheitskampfes gegen den Druck Englands vor allem unseren, unter wohlwollenden Regierungen stehenden Staaten Deutschlands, zeigen, wie viel sie an ihren guten Regierungen bereits habe." (S. V-VI.)

Heinrich Bettzeich-Beta *Benjamin Franklin, sein Leben, Denken und Wirken*, Leipzig, 1853, says page 2: "Franklin ist eine Persönlichkeit der anglosächsischen Wirtschaft und Wissenschaft in England, Amerika und Australia. . . . Franklin ist der wahre Goldmann. Er hat die Sparsamkeit erfunden und die Harmonika verbessert." "So ist er der grösste Wirtschaftslehrer aller Zeiten und Völker geworden." (P. 91.)

This same year Theodor Ruprecht published *Benjamin Franklin, Leben und Schriften*. On page 6, we read: "Franklin hat seit fast einem Jahrhundert unberechenbares Gut gestiftet. . . . Diese Schriften und diese Biographie liefern im Verein das Gesamtbild eines nachahmenswerthen Lebens und Strebens, das um so mehr Werth hat, weil es kein erfundenes, sondern ein wahres Lebensbild ist. . . . Franklin lehrt (nicht durch Worte, sondern durch sein Beispiel) dass die gründliche Bildung und die wahre Weisheit stets Theorie und Praxis engverbunden Hand in Hand gehen lässt. . . . Er empfiehlt durch sein Beispiel fruchtbares Wissen und erspriessliche Kenntnisse. . . ."

Page 8: "Franklin verlangt Fleiss, Nüchternheit, Sparsamkeit, ausdrücklich als Mittel zum Lebensglück; er zeugt, wie jene Tugenden zur Grundbedingungen des wahren Lebensglücks führen; nämlich zur Unabhängigkeit. . . ."

F. C. Schlosser gives one of the best criticisms of Franklin that we find in German literature. This account we find in his *Geschichte des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts und neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Heidelberg, 1853, Band III, Seite 346: "Er (Franklin) war um 1765 schon seit dreissig Jahren als Gründer von Druckereien, als Urheber einer verbreiteten Zeitungs- und Journalschreiberei und Druckerei, als Volksschriftsteller und Moralist in Amerika, seit fünfzehn in Europa als Physiker, Beobachter und Entdecker wichtiger Erscheinungen berühmt."

Speaking of Franklin's examination before Parliament in 1766, he says, page 557: "Dass Franklin zum Diplomaten geboren war, dass er die Tugend an den Nagel hängen konnte, wenn die Klugheit es forderte, und dass er wiederum den halben Quäker spielte wenn es forderte." Schlosser felt the importance

of Franklin's diplomatic ability, but he did not omit to accord to him his just praise in literary fields. "Er ist daher ein nützlicher, ein brauchbarer, ein kluger und verständiger, aber keineswegs ein grosser Schriftsteller." His importance lies in his political activities: "Dass Franklin ein geborenes diplomatisches Genie war; allein wir müssen hinzusetzen, dass er mit dem richtigen und praktischen Takt und mit der kalten und berechnenden Klugheit des Diplomaten doch auch regen Eifer für das Wohl der Menschheit und eine milde, sanfte, verständige Religiosität verband." Franklin's writings had influence upon all liberty-loving people (p. 560): "Als Schriftsteller der Demokratie wirkte er ebenfalls vierzig Jahre hindurch mehr praktisch als theoretisch, mehr moralisch und industriell als eigentlich politisch; als Diplomat versteckte er unter den Äussern eines Naturkindes, den schlausten und ganz kalt berechnenden Staatsmann. . . . Sowohl die Sprichwörter des alten Heinrichs als die Weisheit des guten Richard, hatten in einem grossen Kreise dieselbe Wirkungen, welche Pestalozzi erster Teil von *Lienhard und Gertrud* in einem engern in Deutschland und in der Schweiz hatte."

We read in *Benjamin Franklin—Eine Biographie von F. A. Mignet* (aus dem französischen), von Dr. Ed. Burckhardt, Leipzig, 1855, page 3, thus: "Wie aber Franklin ein Mann von Genie war, so war er auch ein Mann von klarem Verstand; wie er ein tugendhafter Mann war, so war er auch ein ehrenhafter Mann; wie er ein ruhmgekrönter Staatsmann, war, so war er auch ein hingebender Bürger."

Page 22: "In der *Weisheit des guten Richard*, im *Weg zum Glück*, fasste er die ganze Reihe dieser von dem feinsten Verstand und der einsichtsvollsten Ehrbarkeit dictirten Grundsätze zusammen."

Page 44: "Sein thätiger, feuriger, fruchtbarer, rechtlicher Geist, sein energischer und entschlossener Charakter, berufen ihn dazu, ein natürliches Übergewicht über anderen zu behaupten."

"Auf die wahre Grundlegung der Astronomie musste die Physik, die Chemie und die Naturwissenschaft folgen; auf Galileo, Kepler, Huyghens, Newton, Leibnitz muss ein Franklin, Priestley, Lavoiseur, Berthollet u. s. w. folgen."

In *Benjamin Franklin's Gleichniss von der Glaubensduldung*. Dessau, 1855, we find this passage: "Das berühmte Gleichniss des amerikanischen Freiheitshelden Benjamin Franklin (a parable against persecution, *Der alte Abraham*) erscheint hier zuerst in einer deutschen Ausgabe. J. Spark's *Leben Franklins*, II. Theil, II. Kapitel, zeigt, dass die Parabel uralt ist und schon von dem persischen Dichter Saadi als eine alte hebräische Dichtung erwähnt, und Franklin gebührt daher nur das Verdienst, sie in die vorherrschende, volkstümliche Form gegossen zu haben."

Heinrich Welker von Guntershausen, *Neueröffnetes Magazin musikalischer Tonwerkzeuge*, Band II, 1855, Frankfurt a. M., gives a very clear and comprehensive discussion of Franklin's "Harmonika".

In the *Programm und Jahresbericht des Kaiserl. Königl. Obergymnasiums zu Laibach, für das Schuljahr 1856*, we read an article treating Abbé Nollet in his position toward Benjamin Franklin. The strong opposition which the French scientist took toward Franklin's experiments is well known and is treated in the above-mentioned Programm of twelve pages by Dr. Heinrich Mitteis in a most able manner. His ideas he expresses thus:

"Diese Zeitperiode in der Entwicklungsgeschichte der Electricitätslehre, die wohl in der Entwicklungsgeschichte eines jeden Theiles der Wissenschaft einen ähnlichen Zeitabschnitt findet, schliesst nun mit den grossartigen Entdeckungen Franklins, zugleich aber auch mit einem literarischen Streite, in welchem Franklin's Theorie mit der bis dahin von einem grossen Theile der Gelehrten angenommenen Theorie des französischen Physikers Nollet verwickelt wurde. Es war dies eigentlich eine Vertheidigung Nollets gegen B. Franklin, ohne dass vom Letzteren ein directer Angriff gegen den französischen Physiker erfolgt wäre. Die Stellung des Abbé Nollet, der sich durch seine eifrigen Bemühungen wesentliche Verdienste um die Electricität erworben hat, und in mancher geistreichen Vermuthung selbst dem genialen Franklin vorangeeilt war. . . . In dem Streite zwischen Nollet und Franklin war wohl Nollet der Besiegte. . . .

"Die Gelehrten damaliger Zeit bildeten eine grosse Gesellschaft, welche ohne Unterschied der Nationalität und der Con-

fession durch das gemeinsame Band der Wissenschaft verbunden war und nach dem gemeinsamen Ziele der Ausbildung der Wissenschaften und der Veredlung des Geistes unablässig hinstrebte. Was in den entferntesten Theilen der gelehrten Welt entdeckt wurde, kam so schnell als möglich zur Kenntniss der Mitglieder dieses grossen Vereins und wurde Gemeingut Aller."

Nollet's great service to electricity has been considered his establishing the foundations of his direct theory. From his very first letters to his Italian friend, Signora Ardinghelli, in Naples, he shows that in Franklin he sees his literary opponent. (*Lettres d'Electricité* I-1 Lettre.) Nollet was reserved in his attitude toward the ready acceptance which was accorded Franklin's new idea in France, as introduced by his two supporters, Buffon and D'Alibard. The French scientist accused Franklin of making the statement of the electrical properties of lightning without verification by experiment, because he felt that the weather in Philadelphia was never so inclement as to offer to spectators the wonderful display of an electrical storm. He was, however, thankful to Franklin for the new statement that lightning and electricity are identical materials, but that a pointed iron rod can protect against lightning was to him unbelievable. Franklin's generous attitude finally won Nollet to his mode of thinking. "Die Streitigkeiten der Menschen vergehen mit ihnen zugleich, die Thatsachen bleiben und die Nachwelt, welche die Dinge mit kaltem Blute und ohne persönliches Interesse erblickt, urtheilt mit Unparteilichkeit und befreit die Wahrheit von allen Ranken, welche dieselbe hinderten, im vollen Glanze zu erscheinen." This is the German scientist's final version of the matter.

In the *Zeitschrift für deutsche Kulturgeschichte*, herausgegeben von Dr. Johannes Müller; Johannes Falke, Nürnberg, 1858, Seite 486, the following tribute is paid to the two leaders of the American war for freedom: "Die würdigsten Gestalten eines Washington und eines Franklin, wovon der Erstere durch seine Ritterlichkeit und seine uneigennützigste Liebe zum Vaterland, der Letztere durch seine schlichte Bürgerlichkeit die Herzen gewonnen, konnten nicht anders als das lebhafteste Interesse aller edleren Geister erwecken."

Klinger, one of the great leaders of the *Sturm und Drang Periode*, sought to secure an opportunity to reach America. Of this detail of his life we read: "Da schaffte nun Schlosser den Rat dass Pfeffel ihm durch Franklin eine Stelle im Kriegsdienste der Vereinigten Staaten verschaffen sollte. Franklin war Gesandte am Hofe Ludwigs XVI., der vor kurzem, am 6. Februar, einen Allianzvertrag mit dem jungen Freistaate geschlossen hat und in den Krieg mit England eingetreten war. Ob der blinde Pedagog und Dichter in Colmar eine unmittelbare Verbindung mit dem berühmten amerikanischen Populärphilosophen, Physiker und Diplomaten besass, weiss ich nicht; wenn nicht, so war ihm derselbe doch durch seinen Bruder Christian Friedrich zugänglich, der als 'Juris Consulte du Roi' mit Geschäften des auswärtigen Departments betraut in französischem Dienste stand und am Sitze der Regierung lebte."⁷⁴ In Franklin's correspondence, no letter from Klinger comes to view, but no doubt if his brother held such an imperial position, Franklin would have naturally known him.

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"Es ist das Verdienst eines deutschen Geschichtsschreibers, Schlossers in Heidelberg, Franklin in seiner geschichtlichen und persönlichen Bedeutung besser als Amerikaner, Franzosen und Engländer gewürdigt und characterisirt zu haben. . . . Schlosser characterisirt deshalb Franklin so gut, weil er eine ihm ganz verwandte Natur ist."

Thus Friedrich Kapp, on page 46 of his *Leben des amerikanischen Generals Wilhelm von Steuben*, Berlin, 1858, praises Schlosser's attitude toward Franklin.

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J. Venedey, in 1862, published in Freiburg in Breisgau *Benjamin Franklin's Leben*. On page 355, the chapter entitled *Ein Lebensbild*, he writes: "Nordamerika hat das grösste Glück zwei Männer in dem Vordergrund der Ereignisse seiner Revo-

⁷⁴ Klinger, in der *Sturm und Drang Periode*. M. Rieger, p. 262.



lution zu sehen, die der Menschheit stets zu Vorbildern . . . Washington und Franklin . . . der ritterliche Edelmut herrscht in Jenem, die bürgerliche Klugheit in Diesem vor. . . Franklin wurde zum klügsten Manne seiner Zeit; der trotz seiner Klugheit jede unedle Neigung in seinem Wesen bekämpfte und besiegte. . . Franklin's Leben zeigt zugleich den Weg zur Tugend, und ist hierdurch ein Erziehungsbeispiel für die Menschheit."

In Friedrich Nösselt's *Lehrbuch zur Kenntniss der verschiedenen Gattungen Poesie und Prosa*, sechste Auflage, Stuttgart, 1877, Band I, Seite 298, entitled "Die Anekdote und Lapidarstyl", he gives this picture for his young readers: "Jeder erzählt eine kurze Begebenheit oder eine Äusserung einer Person; doch muss die Eine und die Andere sich Witz oder Neuheit auszeichnen oder eine sonst merkwürdige Person betreffen, damit die Zuhörer bei der Erzählung Vergnügen empfinden."

On page 299 he writes: "Unter Lapidarstyl versteht man wenige kräftige Worte, welche auf Grabsteine, auf Münzen, auf Denksäulen gesetzt werden, um das Andenken an wichtige Begebenheiten oder Personen zu erhalten. Z. B., die Grabschrift, welche der berühmte Franklin, der Erfinder des Blitzableiters, erst Buchdrucker, dann Gesandte des nordamerikanischen Freistaats, gestorben 1790 in Philadelphia, sich selbst setzte:

"'Der Leib Benjamin Franklins, Drucker, liegt hier als Speise für Würmer wie der Einband eines alten Buches, aus welchem das Werk gerissen, Aufschrift und Vergoldung abgegriffen ist. Aber das Werk wird nicht verloren gehen, denn es wird erscheinen in einer neuen zierlichen Auflage, durchgesehen und verbessert vom Verfasser.'"

Karl Biedermann in *Deutschland im achtzehnten Jahrhundert*, Leipzig, 1880, page 162, discussing *Der Einfluss der amerikanischen und französischen Revolution auf Klopstock* writes:

"Vor allem jedoch war es das praktische Beispiel der für ihre Unabhängigkeit kämpfenden nordamerikanischen Colonien Englands, was bei allen civilisirten Völkern Europas den stärksten Einfluss hervorbrachte und den Grundsätzen des Vernunftrechts deren beredte Vertheidigung von dem englischen Parla-

ment ein Mann von so ächt bürgerlich-republikanischem Gepräge wie Franklin führte rasch die allgemeinste Zustimmung und Anerkennung verschaffte. Diese letzteren Eindrücke zumal mögen in den durch einen lebhaften Handelsverkehr mit Nordamerika eng verbunden, ohnehin seiner eigenen Verfassung nach republikanischem Hamburg, wo damals Klopstock lebte, sich wesentlich fühlbar gemacht haben."

Benjamin Franklin, Sein Leben von ihm selbst beschrieben. Vorwort von Berthold Auerbach, und historisch-politische Einleitung von Friedrich Kapp. Berlin, 1882.

"Das Leben Franklins tritt als Buch von dauernder pädagogischer Wirkung in Parallele zur Geschichte Robinson Cru-soes."

Seite 10: "Wie bei uns z. B. Goethe und Humboldt, so ist für die Vereinigten Staaten Benjamin Franklin ein solcher, seine Landsleute mächtig fördernder und in seine Zeit gewaltig ergreifender Charakter, so verknüpft sich mit ihm nicht allein die geistliche sondern auch die politische Entwicklung seines Vaterlandes, so verkörpert sich in ihm mehr wie irgend einem Anderen das gewaltige und erfolgreiche Ringen eines ganzen Jahrhunderts. Die Welt war eine glückliche und freiere als Franklin sie verliess. Nicht allein sein Vaterland, auch die ganze Menschheit hatte durch seine Arbeit an geistlichen Gütern gewonnen. Als ich das erste gute Bild Franklins sah, trat es mir wie ein alter Bekannter entgegen. 'Den kennst du ja seit deiner Jugend', rief ich unwillkürlich aus, ist das nicht Schulze Westhof oder Kolon Nordmeier?"

Seite 55: "Justus Möser—fand ich in ihm dieselbe Grundanschauung, wie in jenem wieder, denselben festen historischen Sinn, denselben aus dem Boden seiner nächsten Umgebungen, hervorwachsenden Gemeingeist, denselben gutmütigen Humor und dasselbe Herz für sein Volk. . . . Der eine *macht* Politik und Geschichte, der andere *schreibt* sie vom Gesichtspunkte patriotischer Phantasien aus. . . ."

Seite 66: "Denn der grosse Amerikaner ist durch seine germanische Abstammung und Auffassung der sittlichen Pflichten

des Lebens ebenso sehr der unsrige als Shakespeare bei uns Deutschen gleich neben Goethe und Schiller steht."

The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin, Münster, 1882. In the *Vorbemerkungen* the author says of the *Autobiography*: "Benjamin Franklin's *Autobiography* ist ein Werk das sowohl wegen seiner klassischen, einfach edlen Sprache als noch mehr wegen seines Inhalts die grösste Bedeutung verdient."

Dr. Richard Mayer in *English Authors*, Bielefeld and Leipzig, 1889, discusses Franklin's *Autobiography* and agrees with Herder's ideas of the renowned American: "Herder mit vielem Rechte Franklin den edelsten Volksschriftsteller des an populärer Literatur so überreichen Jahrhunderts nennt."

In Bielefeld und Leipzig, 1889, appeared also *Benjamin Franklin's Autobiography, mit Anmerkungen zum Schulgebrauch*, page 4, with Pitt's appreciation of Franklin as "one whom all Europe held in high estimation for his knowledge and wisdom; who was an honor not to the English nation only, but to human nature", is quoted.

In 1769, St. Jacob's Church, in Hamburg, was protected with a lightning rod. *Die Geschichte der Physik*, by Dr. Friedrich Rosenberger, Braunschweig, 1882, Vol. III, page 316, gives: "Nach der Wiener Zeitung (Neue freie Presse), befinden sich in der Bibliothek der Wiener elektrischen Ausstellung, 1882, die handschriftlichen Beilegung, dass der Prämonstratenser Ordenspriester Prokop Dievisch in Prenditz bei Znaim am 15. Juni, 1754, eine 22 klafter hohe Wetterstange errichtet und diesen Blitzableiter unabhängig von Franklin erfunden hat. Da Franklin seine Vorschläge über die Herableitung des Blitzes schon 1750 machte und schon 1753 eine Theorie des Blitzableiters gab, scheint uns doch der Beweis für die vollständige Unabhängigkeit des Dievisch von Franklin recht schwer zu führen zu sein." We find mention of the following work of Franklin's, *A Modest Enquiry into the Nature and Necessity of a Paper Currency*, Philadelphia, 1729.

Karl Knortz, in his *Geschichte der nordamerikanischen Literatur*, Berlin, 1891, page 30 ff., writes: "Franklin's Einfluss wuchs von Tag zu Tag. . . . Er lehrte Ehrlichkeit, Mässig-

keit, Ausdauer und Vaterlandsliebe; die Tugendregeln, die er in seinem 'armen Richard' viel gab, hatte er alle an sich selber probiert. Er besass ein gesundes Urteil, schnelle Auffassungsgabe und bewundernswerten Scharfsinn; er war ohne Stolz und Sehnsucht, überhaupt ein wahrer Held des Friedens. . . . Er schrieb klar, verständlich und einfach; seinen Stil hatte er nach Bunyan, dessen *Pilgrim's Progress* sein Lieblingsbuch war, gebildet."

In a *Geschichte der englischen Literatur* (Mit einem Anhang—*Die nordamerikanische Literatur*), by Edward Engel, Leipzig, 1897, page 532: "Das helle Licht des neuen Tages geht auf mit Benjamin Franklin. In ihm kommt nicht nur ein edlerer Gottesbegriff zur Geltung; er verbreitete auch mit der Deutlichkeit eines Musterbeispiels viele der echt amerikanischen Eigenschaften; ein richtiger 'Yankee' im guten Sinne."

In *Beiträge zur amerikanischen Litteratur- und Kulturgeschichte*, E. P. Evans, Stuttgart, 1898, page 64, discussing Ralph Waldo Emerson says: "Er vereinigte in sich die Erleuchtung des Jacob Böhme und die Lebensweisheit des Benjamin Franklin."

c. *Franklin as Treated in German Literature of the Twentieth Century.*

Das Literarische Echo 7, pages 1696-1697 for 1905, gives a very able article by Max Kohn, entitled *Amerika im Spiegel deutscher Dichtung*, which treats Franklin and the lofty appreciation, which Herder felt for the founder of the American Philosophical Society:

"Der erste mit der ganzen Glut dichterischer Begeisterung der aufstrebenden Republik zujauchzte war Klopstock, ihm folgte Herder mit seiner Verehrung Benjamin Franklins, des Lehrers der Menschheit, des Ordners einer grossen Gesellschaft. Nach diesem Amerika Franklins wenden dann die Kraftgenies, denen das eingeschnürte und zivilisierte Europa, keinen Spielraum für die freie Entfaltung der Kräfte mehr lässt, gern ihren Blick."

Klinger, Schubart, Schiller, Platen, Lenau, Heine, Börne and Goethe, all these enthusiastic admirers of freedom were attracted to the uprising of the American children against their oppressive mother country.

Professor Eduard Engel, in *Geschichte der englischen Literatur*, Chapter VI *Die nordamerikanische Literatur*, 6. Auflage, Leipzig, pages 459-460, says: "Das helle Licht des neuen Tages geht auf mit Benjamin Franklin. In ihm kommt nicht mir ein edlerer Gottesberiff zur Geltung; er vertritt auch mit der Deutlichkeit eines Musterbeispiels viele der echt amerikanischen Eigenschaften; ein richtiger 'Yankee' im guten Sinne. . . . Seine einzige literarisch-wertvolle, noch heute lesbare Hinterlassenschaft ist die in seinem 79. Lebensjahre verfasste 'Autobiography', 1785, zugleich eine ausgezeichnete Darstellung des amerikanischen Lebens im achtzehnten Jahrhundert. Er zeigt sich darin als der Apostel der Nützlichkeit, Sparsamkeit, Schlauheit, kurz der vereinigten Lebensprosa. . . . Bei der Erwähnung Franklin's mag zugleich des auffallenden Umstands gedacht werden, dass kein Volk so viele langlebige berühmte Männer der Literatur aufweist wie die Nordamerikaner." Franklin is still worthy of a first place in the story of the colonial period, not only in the political interest, which he necessarily inspires, but the fame of the "Autobiography" and "Poor Richard", hold for him this place among the pioneers of American literature. When we consider that Franklin did not have this aim, of stamping himself as a literary star in the broad sky of talent, and remember that even today his maxims are repeated in nearly every living language, and his name is synonymous with the lightning-rod and other of his well-known inventions, we must be proud to feel that foreign lands still include his name among the famous fathers of American freedom and American literature.

The *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde*, Bielefeld und Leipzig, 1905, mentions the work of Gottfried August Bürger: "In seiner letzten Lebensjahre hat Bürger durch seine finanzielle Notlage gedrängt noch wiederholt zur Feder des Übersetzers gegriffen. So erschien 1792 bei Rollmann in Berlin *Benjamin Franklin's Jugendjahre, von ihm selbst für seinen Sohn beschrie-*

ben, und übersetzt von G. A. Bürger, ein Buch welches in der Folge in Deutschland grosse Verbreitung gefunden hat." The author says of Franklin: "Durch Franklin wurden also die ersten Beziehungen zwischen amerikanischen und deutschen Denkern und Gelehrten angeknüpft."

Abhandlungen über Elektrotherapie, Heft 4; *Die Franklinsche Elektrizität in der medizinischen Wissenschaft und Praxis*, Dr. August von Luzenberger, Leipzig, 1901, speaking of Franklin's abilities in electricity, writes: "Die später sogenannte statische oder Franklinsche Elektrizität, ist die erste Form, in welcher dieser alldringende Agent und dessen Molekularbewegung sich unseren Sinnen dargeboten hat. . . . Eine andere Form von Kondensatoren verdanken wir Franklin, welche Franklinometer genannt ist. . . ."

In *Geschichte der englischen Litteratur*, von Geh. Hofrat Professor Dr. Richard Wülker, II—neu-bearbeitet und vermehrte Auflage, Band II, Leipzig und Wien, 1907, Seite 422 ff., we read: "Dem ersten amerikanischen Autor, der weltberühmt wurde, begegnen wir in Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790). Für die europäische Welt war Franklin der erste typische Amerikaner, und wenigstens zwei seiner Schriften waren die ersten eines Amerikaners, die in alle europäischen Sprachen übersetzt wurden. *Der arme Richard*, vom Jahre 1758, und seine *Selbstbiographie*. Goethe, überall scharfsichtig und scharf formellirend, vergleicht Franklin mit Justus Möser, in Absicht auf Wahlgemeinnütziger Gegenstände, auf tiefe Einsicht, freie Übersicht, glückliche Behandlung, so gründlichen als frohen Humor. Auch das Übrige was Goethe in Bezug auf Möser ausspricht, lässt sich auf Franklin übertragen.

"Immer ist er über seinen Gegenstand erhaben und weiss uns eine heitere Ansicht des Fernsten zu geben; bald hinter dieser, bald hinter jener Maske halb versteckt, bald in eigener Person sprechen immer vollständig und erschöpfend, dabei immer froh, mehr oder weniger ironisch, durchaus tüchtig, rechtschaffend, wohlmeinend, ja manchmal derb und hastig, und dieses alles so abgemessen, dass man zugleich den Geist, den Verstand, die

Leichtigkeit, Gewandheit, den Geschmack und Character des Schriftstellers bewundern muss."

Professor J. Wiese, in his book entitled *Der Mann des Erfolgs, Benjamin Franklin*, Stuttgart, 1909, gives a most detailed account of the life in all its phases of this American patriot. His poem dedicated to Franklin will be given later.

"Ein Mann, der noch im hohen Greisenalter in treuer Pflichterfüllung seinem Lande von gewaltigem Nutzen sein kann und durch selbstlose Arbeit die Entwicklung seines Vaterlandes in moralischer, geistiger, wissenschaftlicher und politischer Hinsicht mächtig zu fördern versteht, ist wahrhaft glücklich zu preisen und wird fortleben im Gedächtnis der dankbaren Menschheit. Ein solcher Mann war Benjamin Franklin." (S. 1.)

"Eine grosse historische Persönlichkeit wie Franklin, der auf die Geschichte seines Vaterlandes und der ganzen Welt einen so mächtigen Einfluss ausgeübt hat, der unter den Staatsmännern und Gelehrten seiner Zeit in so hohem Ansehen stand und an den ersten Höfen Europas mit so ausserordentlichem Erfolg tätig war, verdient von allen Seiten betrachtet zu werden." (S. 60.)

"In Zeitschriften, die Franklin zur Belehrung und Aufklärung des Volkes oder der Regierung schrieb, die Alle das Gepräge der Einfachheit, Knappheit und Klugheit tragen und auf die Erfahrung des Praktikers gegründet sind, hat er Lehren entwickelt, die heute noch Muster in ihrer Art bilden." (S. 62.)

The following is the plan which the author followed in his treatment of Franklin:

"1. Als Mensch übte er die Tugenden der Mässigkeit, der Geduld und des Fleisses und wusste sie einzuprägen.

"2. Als Bürger wusste er der Gewalt der Tyrannen zu widerstehen, und die Freiheit seiner Landsleute zu sichern.

"3. Als Gesetzgeber war er ein glänzendes Beispiel eines über alle Bestechlichkeit erhabenen Charakters, der fortwährend nur das Heil seiner Auftraggeber zu fördern strebte.

"4. Als Politiker wusste er auf der einen Seite durch seine geschickten Unterhandlungen den Beistand einer mächtigen Nation zu erlangen und auf der anderen die gemeinschaftlichen Interessen eines Kongresses von Republiken ins Leben zu rufen und

indem er einen Mittelpunkt festsetzte, auf den sie ihre Bleihe heften konnten, ihre Gesamtmacht für die Zwecke der Einheit, der Harmonie, der Gesetzgebung und der Verteidigung zu konzentrieren.

“5. Als Philosoph waren seine Arbeiten und Entdeckungen darauf gerichtet, die Interessen der Menschheit zu fördern und er verdiente in Wahrheit der Freund der Menschen und der Wohlthäter des Weltalls genannt zu werden.” (S. 138.)

CHAPTER VI.

FRANKLIN IN GERMAN POETRY.

It is interesting to know that the leaders of the cause of the American Revolution, especially two of these leaders were well known to Germany and were held in universal esteem. These two symbolized in themselves the great conception of the rise of a nation against the thralldom of tyranny—these two, Washington and Franklin.

In the *Leipziger Musenalmanach aufs Jahr 1778*, printed in Leipzig, on page 141 we read the following poem on *Franklin in Paris*, by Hase:

“Die ersten Tag’ ersticken fast dich im Gedränge,
Der dich umgebenden neugierigen Menge,
Allein kaum bist du Wochen da gewesen,
So hast du schon berühmter Geist vergessen,
Und musst in deinen grauen Jahren
Des grünen Esels Schicksal noch erfahren.”

Voss in his *Luise* makes reference to these two leaders, Washington and Franklin:

“Lies noch ein Weilchen im Bett, wie du pflegst: ein Kapitel der
Bibel,
Dort auf der kleinern Rirole zur Seite dir: oder ein Leibeuch
Besserer Zeit, als Menschen wie Washington lebten und Franklin.”

In *Vorbilder für die Jugend*, by Dr. Franz Otto and Dr. H. Schramm, Leipzig, 1873:

“Es wirkt mit Macht der edle Mann
Jahrhunderte auf Seinesgleichen,
Die gute That, das schöne Wort,
Es strebt unsterblich, wie er sterblich fort.”—*Goethe*.

We see this poem applied to Franklin, considering him as the personification of practical utility: one whose life must prove an example for youth and manhood.

Theodor Ruprecht in his *Benjamin Franklin, Leben und Schriften*, has a German translation of the verse, which appears in several of the English editions of his works. It runs as follows:

“Er hat geraubt des Himmels Strahl
Und Wissenschaft erblüh’n Wüsteneien geheissen;
Amerika nennt ihn den grössten seiner Weisen
Hellas hätt’ ihn gesellt seiner Götter Zahl.”

Lavater’s *Grabschrift* yields its high place in the ranks of elegiac praise of this father of freedom, to the splendid *Grabschrift* of Schubart:

“Hier liegt in Gräberstille
Franklins Hülle
Geist, Weiser, Patriot,
Voll Vaterland und Gott;
Er wusste den Strahl der Tyrannen
Wie Blitze des Himmels zu bannen,
Und aus gläsernen Glocken
Himmlische Töne zu locken.
Wie einem Bräutigam die Braut,
Bot ihm Freiheit die Hand;
Dann führt’ er sie liebevertraut
In Columbus glückliches Land.
Seine Name frei und gross
Flog über den Okeanus,
Columbia trauert um Ihn,
Europa klagt um Ihn,
Der kühne Franke hüllt sich in Flor;
Doch Franklin’s Seele flog empor
Ins Urlicht, Geister drangen
In Schaaren herbei,
Wilkommten ihn und sangen;
Wen Gott frei macht,
Ist ewig frei.”^{74a}

In the *Litterärisches Leben des Königlich-Baierischen Geheimenrates und Ritters Anton von Klein*, Wiesbaden, 1818, S. 36 ff., we have a poem which reads as follows:

Empfindungen des Doktor Franklin bei einem Blick in die

^{74a} Gedichte.

Natur.—This is a poem of twenty stanzas, interpolated with remarks and explanations of the author. We shall give the stanzas that refer directly to Dr. Franklin. The entire poem gives a vivid description of a severe storm, how nature and all animate creation cower before the turbulence and power of the storm king. The poem runs thus:

- "1. Dem Meeresschlund entwirbeln Stürme
Zum Mond hinauf;
Am Hälmchen ruhen hier Gewürme;
Er wankt im Lauf.
- "2. Flieh' Mückchen! Nehm dein goldnes Leben
Dein Gott wandelt: Wetter heben.
Gott beugt er sich.
- "3. Wer leiht, Uran, in jenen Fernen,
Dass Licht kleid dir?
Einst nehm' ich dich mit höhern Sternen
Zur Krone mir.
-
- "14. Wer trotzet Donner, deinem Grimme?
Der Weise hier,
Er lachet deiner Götterstimme
Und spielt mit dir!
- "15. Sein Stäbchen, das den Blitz verschlinget,
Schützt stille mich;
Die Schöpfung wankt; ein Kettchen bringet
Ihm machtlos dich!"

Benjamin Franklin is treated very ably in a book entitled *Männer des Erfolgs*, von Dr. J. Wiese, Stuttgart, 1909. On page 56 he gives a poem of twenty stanzas, written by Dr. Georg Bieden-kapp, *Der in schönen Versen Franklin's herrliche Erfindung preist*:

- "1. Dumpf lullert der Donner, es türmen zu Hauf
Im Westen sich finstere Wolken herauf;
Jetzt hebt sich der Sturm und wirbelt den Staub,
Schon netzen die Tropfen das dürstende Laub.

- “Den Philosophen besingt mein Lied, der dem neueren Welttheil
Jenseits des Mar del Nord das Licht der Wissenschaft brachte,
Und sein seufzendes Vaterland von Tyrannen befreite,
Von der Natur gesandt, als Wälder und Hütten der Wilden.

In Provinzen verwandelt, eines Führers bedurften
 Der den Geist der Freiheit durch Weisheit und Künste veredelt,
 Den Nationalgeist bildet, und mit sich höher emporhebt
 Die Grundfeste des Staats viel Leiden und Schrecken des Todes;
 Ergriffen den heldenmüthigen Weisen, das Joch der Tyrannen
 Drückte das Volk, Britanniens Zepter zerschlug die Erdrückten;
 Da trat der Weise hervor und ward des Vaterlands Retter,
 Gab der Freiheit ihr Recht und gründete siegreich den Frei-
 staat."

.

Meyen continues in his praise of Franklin:

"Wir Küstenbewohner der schiffreichen Ostsee wir hörten
 Auch mit Wonne empfindend Franklin's weitschallende Thaten
 Auch uns reizte die Weisheit des Menschenretters aus Boston."

His songs give a biographical sketch of Franklin, comparing him with Cadmus, Caesar, Theseus, Plato and others. Especially does he emphasize Franklin's scientific discoveries in electricity. Thus the first song closes:

"O beglücktes Deutschland! du Mutter des grossen Leibnitz,
 Sei gerecht; Franklin war nicht von Winklern belehret,
 Winkler war nicht so stark, des Prometheus' Arbeit zu wagen.
 Fragt Franklinen, er wird freimüthig die Wahrheit sage;
 Er ist zu reich, zu gross, zu edel für fremde Lorbeeren.
 Sei gerecht, und schütze dagegen des grossen Leibnitz."

.

Der zweite Gesang praises again the achievements of Franklin, particularly the founding of the Academy of Philadelphia.

"Durch ihn ragst du hervor, Philadelphia, hier ist der Schauplatz
 Der Wissenschaften, die Akademie die er stiftete; er gab
 Ihr seinen Geist, den edlen Stolz, sich höher zu schwingen,
 Und mit denkenden Männern den wachsenden Staat zu beschenken."

The Harmonika is not forgotten:

"O Franklin! du neuer Kolumbus im Reiche der Tonkunst;
 Alle die nach dir kommen und deine Harmonika schmücken,
 Sind nur wie Goldarbeiter, und keiner Kolumbus; der Gold
 fand."

.

Nearly one hundred lines are devoted to his powers as a statesman:

"Jetzt betritt der weise Franklin einen neuen Schauplatz,
Er der Wissenschaft Licht, wird nun ein Licht in der Staats-
kunst.

.

"Reich an Kenntnissen, stark und holde an stürmender Rede.
Ein Menschenfreund, der für jeden gemacht, jeder dem sich
einflößt.
Keiner als nur Franklin war's, kein geringerer konnt' es.
Wahrheit und Glückseligkeit sind die Grundfeste seines Sys-
tems."

Der dritte Gesang.

Here in verse we read of Franklin's political career in London:

" . . . Franklin! Franklin ist der Name,
Den sie verkündigt, Franklin, Philosoph und Sprecher des
Volkes,
Ist des Landes Vater und fordert die Rechte der Freiheit."

Der vierte Gesang.

Here we have Franklin in France:

"Heil dem Staate! Franklin ist des Gesetzbuches Stifter,
Seine Kenntnisse sind der unerschöpfliche Vorrath der Bauma-
terien."

Der fünfte Gesang.

"Zitternd sah der Neid und der Geiz den bidren Franklin an,
Und die Verläumdung mit ihnen, und die verstimmende Fama,
Die sich nun ungern zum Ruhme der Wahrheit als Heraldin
ausschickt,
Und Thersitens Schatten mit lang ausholendem Seufzer."

NOTE: Meyen's book of 120 pages (approximately 1300 lines) found in the American Philosophical Society is incomplete. No other copy was found by the author. This copy was no doubt in Franklin's own possession and shows marks that the final pages were cut out or lost.

CHAPTER VII.

FRANKLIN AS KNOWN TO GOETHE.

Franklin as a noble old man "reminds us of some of the glimpses we catch in contemporary letters of the aged Goethe, a man who had much in common with Franklin."⁷⁵ "A life like Franklin's solves the problem stated in the *Faust* of Goethe; which is, How shall a man become satisfied with life?" If we follow a close comparison of the lives of these two men, we can confidently say that their paths were at times divergent and at times they seemed to join in the broad highway of utility. It has been said, by critics of these two, that they lacked the good habit of regular church service. Franklin expresses his views very strongly on the matter thus: "Though I seldom attended any public worship, I had still an opinion of its propriety and its utility, when rightly conducted, and I regularly paid my annual subscriptions for the support of the only Presbyterian minister or meeting we had in Philadelphia. He used to visit me sometimes as a friend, and admonished me to attend his administrations, and I was now and then prevailed on to do so; once for five Sundays. Had he been in my opinion a good preacher, perhaps I might have continued, notwithstanding the occasion I had for the Sunday's leisure in my course of study; but his discourses were chiefly polemic arguments, or explications of the peculiar doctrines of our sect, and even all to me very dry, uninteresting and unedifying, since not a single moral principle was inculcated or enforced; their aim seeming to be to make us Presbyterians, rather than good citizens."

Goethe had a similar feeling with regard to attending church, which he expresses: "If Protestants sought to define more clearly what ought to be done, lived and taught; if they imposed an inviolable reverential silence or the mysteries of religion, without compelling any man to assent to the dogmas . . . I should, myself, be the first to visit the church of my brethren

⁷⁵ James Parton. *Life and Times of Benjamin Franklin*. Vol. II, p. 581 (p. 639).

in religion, with sincere heart, and to submit myself with willing edification to the practical confession of a faith which connected itself so immediately with action."⁷⁶

In the *Goethe Jahrbuch*, Band 25 (1904), Seite 4, in an article entitled *Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und Amerikanern* . . . von Leonard L. Mackall, we read: "Wenn der treffliche Goethe und Herder wohlbekannte Benjamin Franklin schon 1730 ein deutsches Gesangbuch druckte und zwei Jahre darauf wahrscheinlich die Philadelphia Zeitung begründete, 1766 Göttingen besuchte, und sonst viel dazu beitrug die deutsche Sprache in Amerika einzuführen und andere ihm beistanden, so bleiben diese Versuche noch meistens sporadisch."

Goethe as the President of the *Freitagsgesellschaft*, of which, as we know, Herder was the original instigator, must have received, through his friend and fellow-worker a strong impression of the worth of Dr. Franklin, as the founder of the *Junto*. Professor O. Harnack, in the *Goethe Jahrbuch*, XVII (1896), pages 23-24, says: "Wenn Goethe in den Wanderjahren den Zustand der neuen Zeit greifbar bezeichnen will, so weist er auf Amerika hin; Amerika mit seiner eigenartigen Kulturform war aber auch schon 1797 als ein neues, auf eine Zukunfts-Epoche hinweisendes Gebilde in den Gesichtskreis der weiterblickenden Beobachter getreten. Der Befreiungskrieg der Vereinigten Staaten, die Erscheinung des practisch-nüchternen, einfach selbstbeweissten Franklin war von empfindsamen Gemüthern, nur als ein neuer Anlass zu begeisterter Schwärmerei für Freiheit und Gleichheit aufgefasst worden."

Turning to Goethe's *Tagebücher*, we find under the date April 27, 1817, the following notice, which gives insight into the books, which were interesting Goethe at this time: "John Huntersleben von Adams—Entwürfe und Abschriften von naturwissenschaftlichem Hefte—Abends zu Knebels—*Franklin's Leben*." Again, two days later, we read: "Zu Knebel, woselbst Hofrath Luden—mit *Franklin's Leben und Character*."

Goethe was in Strassburg in 1770. In April of that year:

⁷⁶ Sarah Austin. *Characteristics of Goethe*. I, 77.

"Erhöhte Anatomie bei Lobstein, Chemie bei Spielmann, besuchte die Klinik des älteren Ehrmann und die Vorlesungen des jüngeren Ehrmann über Entbindungskunst.

"Auch die Elektrizität, in der kurz vorher *Franklin* seine grosse Entdeckung gemacht hatte, beschäftigte ihn, und nicht weniger als neun Schriften über diesen Gegenstand finden sich in dem Tagebuche zur Lektüre angemerkt."⁷⁷

The French Revolution had a marked effect upon Goethe: "Die Republik hatte ihn mit einer besondern Auszeichnung geehrt; zugleich mit Washington, *Franklin*, Tom Paine, Pestalozzi, Campe, Klopstock, dem berühmten Anacharsis Klotz und einigen Andern wurde ihm das französische Bürgerrecht ertheilt."⁷⁸

Turning to the year 1828, we find Goethe the last two days of the year busy once more interestedly reading *Franklin's* life in its French translation. "December 30, 1828. Mittage allein. *Franklin's Leben* neu ins Französische übersetzt." "December 31. Las ich *Franklin's Leben* weiter." The edition of *Franklin's Life*, which he used was *La Vie de Benjamin Franklin, Traduction Nouvelle*, Paris, 1828.

He writes to C. F. Zelter from Weimar, April 2, 1829, after a careful study of his theory of colors, the following: "Wäre meine Farbenlehre nicht ein verbotenes Buch und deshalb schwer aufzufinden, so würde ich sagen: die unter dem Datum 2. Januar, 1766, von dem wackern *Franklin* als problematische hinterlassene Erscheinungen und in obgedachtem meinem Büchlein, und zwar gleich zu Anfang die der ersten Abtheilung überschrieben: Physiologische Farben mit allen ihren Seitenverwandten auf's deutlichste und vollständigste, wie mir scheinen darf, abgeleitet, ausgelegt und erklärt wie man sagen möchte. Diese meine Arbeit ist nun bald zwanzig Jahre öffentlich; das Nützliche davon hat aber noch nicht in die Masse verbreitet."⁷⁹

In a copy in the possession of the Geh. Archivrath Dr. Ernst Friedlander in Berlin, there is a letter dated January 2, 1762, in

⁷⁷ *Goethe's Leben und Werke*, von G. H. Lewes. 1 Band (autorisierte Übersetzung von Dr. Julius Frese), 16 Auflage; S. 70.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, S. 155.

⁷⁹ *Goethe's Briefe*, 45 Band, S. 231-232.

which reference is made to Franklin's ideas of music. *Briefe*, Band 45, *Lesearten*, Seite 412-413.

Already as early as 1798 from Weimar we read the following letter to Schiller, dated January 26, in which he speaks of Darwin's Theories of Botanical Gardens, and also *Dr. Franklin's Erfindung, dem Gewitter seine Blitze zu nehmen*.⁸⁰

Again he addresses Zelter from Weimar, February 28, 1811, in which there is mention made of Franklin: "Ja, Voltaire erkühnt sich irgendwo zu sagen: J'ai toujours remarqué que la Géometrie laisse l'esprit où elle se trouve—auch hat schon *Franklin* eine besondere Aversion gegen die Mathematiker, in Absicht auf geselligen Umgang, klar und deutlich ausgedrückt, wo es ihren Kleinigkeits- und Widerspruchsgeist unerträglich findet."⁸¹

"Schon als Kind begegnete mir Franklin's Lehre von der Elektrizität, welches Gesetz er damals soeben gefunden hatte. Und so folgte durch mein ganzes Leben bis zu dieser Stunde, eine grosse Entdeckung der anderen; wodurch ich denn nicht allein früh auf die Natur hingeletet, sondern auch später immerfort in der bedeutensten Anregung erhalten wurde."⁸² So we see that Goethe even in childhood had his eyes opened to the teaching of the American scientist.

Speaking of the American Revolution, for which Goethe had an absorbing, enthusiastic appreciation, he says: "Noch lebhafter über die Welt interessirt, als ein ganzes Volk sich zu befreien Miene machte—man wünschte den Amerikanern alles Glück und die Namen Franklin und Washington fingen an am politischen und kriegerischen Himmel zu glänzen und funkeln."⁸³

In Goethe's *Naturwissenschaftliche Schriften*, Band IV, *Zur Farbenlehre* (Historischer Theil II), Weimar, 1894, pages 199-200, he gives a portion from *Benjamin Franklin's Kleine Schriften*, herausgegeben von G. Schatz, 1794, zweiter Theil, Seite 234 ff.

⁸⁰ *Goethe's Briefe* (1893), Band 13, S. 238.

⁸¹ *Goethe's Briefe* (Weimar, 1901), Band 22, S. 49.

⁸² *Gespräche mit Goethe. In den letzten Jahren seines Lebens*. Von Johann Eckermann. Band I (1823-1827), S. 165. (Donnerstag Abend, den 1. Februar, 1827.)

⁸³ *Goethe's Werke*, Band 29, S. 68.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

[*Kleine Schriften*, herausgegeben von G. Schatz, 1794, zweiter Theil, Seite 324 f.]

“Der Eindruck, den ein leuchtender Gegenstand auf die Sehnerven macht, dauert zwanzig bis dreissig Sekunden. Sieht man an einem heitern Tage, wenn man im Zimmer sitzt, eine Zeit lang in die Mitte eines Fensters, und schliesst sodann die Augen, so bleibt die Gestalt des Fensters eine Zeit lang im Auge, und zwar so deutlich, dass man im Stande ist, die einzelnen Fächer zu zählen. Merkwürdig ist bei dieser Erfahrung der Umstand, dass der Eindruck der Form sich besser erhält, als der Eindruck der Farbe. Denn sobald man die Augen schliesst, scheinen die Glasfächer, wenn man das Bild des Fensters anfängt wahrzunehmen, dunkel, die Querhölzer der Kreuze aber, die Rahmen und die Wand umher weiss oder glänzend. Vermehrt man jedoch die Dunkelheit der Augen dadurch, dass man die Hände über sie hält, so erfolgt sogleich das Gegentheil. Die Fächer erscheinen leuchtend und die Querhölzer dunkel. Zieht man die Hand weg, so erfolgt eine neue Veränderung, die alles wieder in den ersten Stand setzt. Ein Phänomen, das ich so wenig zu erklären weiss, all folgendes. Hat man lange durch eine gemeine grüne, oder sogenannte Conservationsbrille gesehn, und nimmt sie nun ab, so sieht das weisse Papier eines Buches rötlich aus, so wie es grünlich aussieht, wenn man lange durch rothe Brillen gesehen hat. Dies scheint eine noch nicht erklärte Verwandtschaft der grünen und rothen Farbe anzuzeigen.”

KOERNER, SCHILLER AND FRANKLIN.

Schiller must have known the life of Franklin because his friends possessed clear insight into the value of this North American representative of all that the new world could offer a child of freedom and the embodiment of all that that word conveys to the minds of men, chafing under restraint.

Körner writes to Schiller from Dresden, 28th of May, 1790, as follows: “Mir ist dabei überhaupt eingefallen, ob Du nicht ganz neue Memoires mit in Deinen Plan aufnehmen soll-

test, so dass sie neben den ältern zugleich erschienen, z. B., die Memoires von Richelieu, Choiseul. Bei diesen Beiden sind Dir nun wohl Andere zuvorkommen. Aber jetzt kommen gewiss in Frankreich und England mehrere heraus, die sehr brauchbar wären. Du bist der Mann nicht so etwas zu erlauern, aber Bertuch, der wohl eigentlich Dein Verleger ist (da Manke nur den Namen hergiebt) wäre zu seinen eigenen Journalen und Zeitungen aufzupassen. So weiss ich z. B. nicht, ob *Franklins Leben* von ihm selbst beschrieben schon einen Übersetzer hat."⁸⁴

LENZ AND FRANKLIN.

Lenz writes to Zimmermann the 27th of May, 1776, the following: "Hier ist Lindaus Schwanengesang, den er sehr gern an Washington oder *D. Franklin* möchte gelangen lassen. Wie ist mir selber unbegreiflich. Vielleicht wissen Sie Auswege. Den Colonisten kann ein solch Produkt nicht anders als lieb sein. Und Sie, mein Freund, sind Freund der Freiheit, nur dass er (Der Schwanengesang) nicht in unrechte Hände fällt."⁸⁵

FRANKLIN AND JUSTUS MÖSER.

"Ich kann nicht schliessen, ohne meinen freudigen und stolzen Vaterlandsiebe den Ausbruch zu gönnen, hier zu sagen und zugleich mehrere zu erinnern, dass in Deutschland ein Mann lebt, der an Staatskenntnis, an Forschung des Geistes der Gesetze, an Wahrheitsliebe, an Originalität, an feinem Sinn für schöne Künste, an Gelehrsamkeit, an Eifer zur Verbreitung heilsamer gemeinnützer Wahrheiten, an Witz und Laune, an mannigfachem Stil, an Kenntnis der Welt, und Menschenliebe, an reinem Gefühl für Natur und endlich selbst an Bekanntmachungsart seiner Aufsätze, *Franklin* ausserordentlich gleicht: Justus Möser."⁸⁶

⁸⁴ *Schiller's Briefwechsel mit Körner, von 1784 bis zum Tode Schillers.* Karl Goedeke. 1. Theil, S. 372.

⁸⁵ *Goethe Jahrbuch*, Band 32 (1911), S. 24. *Ungedrucktes aus dem Goethe-Kreise.* Mitgeteilt von Hermann Bräuning—Oktavio.

⁸⁶ *Berlinische Monatsschrift* (Berlin, 1783), Julius, S. 38. J. E. Biester.

For a true appreciation of Möser, let us turn to an *Inaugural Dissertation*, von Ludwig Posadzy, Posen, 1906, entitled *Der entwicklungsgeschichtliche Gedanke bei Herder*, pages 22-23: "Möser's Osnabrückische Geschichte bedeutet eine Epoche für den entwicklungsgeschichtlichen Gedanken. Die Stetigkeit der agrarischen Verhältnisse, denen sich seine ganze Vorliebe zuwendet, brachte ihm ohne alle Vermittelung die Idee bei, dass es sich hier um eine einheitliche entwicklungsreihe handle, deren organisches Wachstum nun vor allem zu verfolgen sei.

"Es ist auch interessant zu beobachten, wie in Möser mit dem Aufkommen des wahren geschichtlichen Sinnes die Aufklärung wird. Jede Zeit trägt für Möser den eignen Massstab in sich."

Again he says: "Winckelmanns Geschichte der Kunst ist nicht weniger bahnbrechend für den Entwicklungsgedanken, wie Möser's osnabrückische Geschichte."

In the *Patriotische Phantasien*, von Justus Möser, herausg. von seiner Tochter J. W. J. v. Voigts, Berlin, 1842—Second Edition, 1858 (Verlag der Nicolai'schen Buchhandlung), in the Einleitung von B. R. Abeken, we read:

"Mit welcher Lebhaftigkeit der jugendliche Goethe diesen ältern Geistesverwandten, mit Ehrfurcht zu ihm emporblickend, begrüßte, das erzählt er uns in seiner Selbstbiographie; dabei characterisirt er uns die *Patriotischen Phantasien* in einer Weise, die demjenigen, der nach ihm über denselben Gegenstand reden möchte, Bedenken erwecken muss. Er bemerkt, wie die grosse Zahl der staatsbürgerlichen, geschichtlichen, moralischen Aufsätze ein wahrhaftes Ganzes ausmachen, welche Universalität sich in ihnen offenbart, wie des Verfassers Vorschlag und Rath, obgleich auch oft nicht ausführbar, noch nie aus der Luft gegriffen worden, und vergleicht am Ende Mösern in Hinsicht auf Wahl gemeinnütziger Gegenstände, tiefe Einsicht, freie Übersicht, glückliche Behandlung, gründlichen und frohen Humor mit *Benjamin Franklin*.

"Diese Vergleichung hatte schon Nicolai in seiner Biographie Möser's gemacht, dabei aber auch Sturz in dieselbe hineingezogen."

Dr. Karl Biedermann, in his book entitled *Deutschland im achtzehnten Jahrhundert*, Leipzig, 1880, zweiter Theil, Seite 663, discusses Franklin's invention of the lightning-rod and compares Möser as "Der Erste, der hier eine neue und bessere Bahn einschlug, war der grosse Kenner und warme Freund deutschen Volkslebens, Justus Möser." (S. 706.)

Nicholai, in Möser's *Sämmtliche Werke*, Berlin, 1842-1843, compares in the strongest terms Möser and the American Franklin. In the lives of the two men there is little in common, except that they both worked and labored for the betterment of mankind. Möser showed his tolerance in public opinions and in his narrow Osnabrück worked as assiduously as Franklin did in the wider court circles.

In the *Sammlung von Vorträgen für das deutsche Volk*, Band 14, von Wilhelm Frommel und Dr. Friedrich Pfaff, Heidelberg, 1885, No. 10: "Justus Möser, der deutsche Patriot als Apologet des Christenthums", von Franz Blanckmeister, page 402, here we read "Selbst der grösste aller damaligen deutschen Schriftsteller, Goethe, der für wahrhafte Geistesgrösse einen offenen, scharfen und richtigen Blick hatte, hat ihm in 'Wahrheit und Dichtung' seine warme und begeisterte Huldigung dargebracht. Er sagt von Möser's patriotischen Phantasien; seine Vorschläge, sein Rat, nichts ist aus der Luft gegriffen und doch so nicht ausführbar; deswegen er auch die Sammlungen patriotischen Phantasien genannt, obgleich alles dann sich an das Wirkliche und Mögliche hält. Man wüsste alles, was in der bürgerlichen Welt vorgeht, rubrizieren, wenn man die Gegenstände erschöpfen wollte, die er behandelt, und diese Behandlung ist bewunderungswürdig. . . . In Absicht auf Wahl gemeinnützige Gegenstände, auf tiefe Einsicht, freie Übersicht, glückliche Behandlung, so gründlichen und frohen Humor wusste ich ihm mit niemand als *Franklin* zu vergleichen."

Friedrich Nicolai in his *Leben Justus Möser's*, Berlin und Stettin, 1797, page 92, says: "Möser als Schriftsteller ist schon sehr richtig mit Franklin verglichen worden." (*Berlinische Monatsschrift*, Jul. 1783, Seite 37-38.)

HERDER AND FRANKLIN.

Herder visited Paris in 1769, and no doubt came into close touch with those who sang Franklin's praises, for France was at this time cognizant of this North American, since Franklin visited Paris, as we have seen, for the second time, in 1769. Herder in his *Briefe zur Beförderung der Humanität*, Riga, 1793 (Band 17—Bernhard Suphan, Berlin, 1887), says, page 7: "Endlich ist mir die Lebensbeschreibung eines meiner Lieblinge in unserem Jahrhundert, *B. Franklin's*, von ihm selbst für einen Freund geschrieben, zu Händen gekommen; aber bedauern Sie's, nur in der französischen Übersetzung und nur ein kleines Stück derselben, die früheren Lebensjahre des Mannes, ehe er völlig in seine politische Laufbahn trat. . . . Sie wissen, was ich von *Franklin* immer gehalten, wie hoch ich seinen gesunden Verstand, seinen hellen und schönen Geist, seine sokratische Methode vorzüglich aber den Sinn der Humanität in ihm geschätzt habe, der seine kleinsten Aufsätze bezeichnet. Auf wie wenige und klare Begriffe wiss er die verwogensten Materien zurückzuführen! Und wie sehr hält er sich allenthalben an die einfachen, ewigen Gesetze der Natur, an die unfehlbarsten praktischen Regeln, aus Bedürfniss und Interesse der Menschheit. Oft denkt man, wenn man ihn liest: 'Wusste ich das nicht auch? aber so klar sah ich's nicht, und meist gefehlt, dass es bei mir schlichte *Maxime des Lebens* wurden.' Zu dem sind seine Einkleidungen so leicht und natürlich, sein Witz und Scherz so gefällig und fein, sein Gemüth so unbefangen und fröhlich, dass ich ihn den edelsten Volksschriftsteller unseres Jahrhunderts nennen möchte, wenn ich ihn durch diesen missbrauchten Namen nicht zu entehren glaubte. Unter uns wird er dadurch nicht entehrt! Wollte Gott wir hätten in ganz Europa ein Volk, das ihn läse, das seine Grundsätze anerkannte, zu seinem eignen Besten danach handelte und lebte; wo wären wir sodann!

"Franklin's Grundsätze gehen allenthalben darauf, gesunde Vernunft, Überlegung, Rechnung, allgemeine Billigkeit und wechselseitige Ordnung ins kleinste und grösste Geschäft der Menschen einzuführen, den Geist der Unduldsamkeit, Härte, Trägheit von ihnen zu verbannen, sie aufmerksam auf ihren Be-

ruf, sie in einer Milde fortgehenden, unangestregten Art geschäftigt, fleissig, vorsichtig, und thätig zu machen, indem er zeigt, dass jede dieser Übungen sich selbst belohnet, jede Vernachlässigung derselben im Grossen und Kleinen sich selbst strafe. Er nimmt sich der Armen an, nicht anders aber als dass er ihnen Wege des Fleisses mit überwiegender Vernunft eröffnet. Mehrmals hat er es erwiesen wie hell und bestimmt er in die Zukunft sah." . . . (S. 8.)

Thus we see that Herder held the highest esteem of Franklin, not only in the humanitarian field, but in the literary world as well. Further he says: "Hören Sie nun den guten Alten, und Sie finden in seiner Lebensbeschreibung durchaus ein Gegenbild zu Rousseau's Confessionen. Wie dieser die Phantasie fast immer irre führte, so verlässt jenem nie sein guter Verstand, sein unermüdlicher Fleiss, seine Gefälligkeit, seine erfindende Thätigkeit, ich möchte sagen, seine Vielverschlagenheit und ruhige Beherztheit."

Haym, in his edition of Herder, makes the following assertion in regard to Herder's close knowledge of Franklin: "Als einen ersten Stellvertreter der Gesinnungen, die ausschliesslich im eignen Namen vorzutragen Herder, jetzt scheu und vorsichtig verzichtete, lässt er einen Mann auftreten, den er sich in Vielen verwandt fühlte, den er als Volksschriftsteller schon in dem Aufsatz 'Über Spruch und Bild', gepriesen hatte—den Mitbegründer der Unabhängigkeit der Vereinigten Staaten, *Benjamin Franklin*. Er hatte in Aachen die ganz kürzlich erschienenen *Memoires de la Vie de B. Franklin* kennen gelernt. . . . Er charakterisirt den merkwürdigen Mann, in dem so vorzugsweise der Sinn der Humanität gelebt habe, den werththätigen Geist, den Lehrer der Menschheit, den Ordner einer grossen Menschengesellschaft. Längst schon hatte er von den kleinen und grösseren Aufsätzen seines Lieblings gesammelt was er auftreiben konnte, Gedrucktes und Ungedrucktes, und würde, wäre ihm nicht der betriebsame Bertuch zuvorgekommen eine Übersetzung veranlasst haben." We have already seen that he knew the French translation of Franklin's works, and he had for a long time possessed "Political,

Miscellaneous and Philosophical Pieces", by Benjamin Franklin, London, 1779.

For the Freitag Gesellschaft, organized July 5, 1791, Franklin's *Rules for a Club*, 1728, were read. These rules were originated by Franklin for the "Junto", which afterward grew into the American Philosophical Society. Herder explained the aims of his Club thus: "Der Zweck dieser Academie ist reine und parteiische Wahrheit, das Band ihrer Mitglieder ist National-Interesse, gegenseitige Achtung und Schonung." (These same ideas we can read in Franklin's expression, "truth for truth's sake".) These statutes of the Friday Club were known to its members, Goethe, C. G. Voigt, Wieland, Herder, Bode, Knebel, J. F. Bertuch, O. Buchholtz.⁸⁷

Herder translated Franklin's questions, which were to be applied to members of the Club, under the following title, *Benjamin Franklin's Rules for a Club established in Philadelphia, übertragen und ausgelegt als Statut für eine Gesellschaft von Freunden der Humanität*, von Johann Gottfried Herder, 1792. Aus dem Nachlass veröffentlicht und Eduard Simson, zum 22. Mai, 1883, zugeeignet. Berlin, Weidmannische Buchhandlung. The first translation of the above made by Herder was annexed to a lecture entitled *Über die wahre Unsterblichkeit für die Nachwelt*. (*Suphan Herder's Werke*, 16, 43; note 3.)

Herder in his *Spruch und Bild in Sonderheit bei den Morgenländern, einige rhapsodische Gedanken*, writes: "In allen guten Volksschriften, im *Landpriester*, von Wakefield, z. B. und in einer der lehrreichsten Schriften, die unsere Sprache besitzt, *Lienhard und Gertrud*, ist dieser natürliche Kunstbegriff sehr wohl gebraucht. *Benjamin Franklin*, ein hochachtungswürdiger Name, hat ihn in seinen periodischen Lettern und Kalendern für Nord Amerika vortrefflich anzuwenden gewusst und sein einziger Aufsatz, *Die Wissenschaft des guten Richard*, enthält einen solchen Schatz von Lebensregeln, dass man in mancher Rücksicht fast auf's ganze Leben nichts mehr bedürfte."⁸⁸

⁸⁷ *Suphan Herder's Werke*, 17, 10 ff; 18, 503 ff, 538 ff.

⁸⁸ *Americana Germanica, Herder in Amerika*. Marion D. Learned, September, 1904. Vol. II, No. 9, p. 565, in the following.

CHAPTER VIII.

FRANKLIN IN THE GERMAN NOVEL.

I. *Pugacew, geschichtlicher Roman*, F. Isidor Proschkow, Band 1 und 2 (in one volume), Prague, 1860; (Kober und Markgraf) Viertes Kapitel, S. 106 ff, gives a description of Franklin as he sat with a gathering of friends in Portugal in the spring of 1775. We feel that the old printer sat back with keen satisfaction and listened in silence to the various political views, that were aired by his companions. We read: "Der Eine dieser Männer, welcher an der rechten Ecke des Tisches lehnte und in die reine, blaue Ferne hinaufstarrte, von mässiger Grösse, in der einfachen Tracht eines amerikanischen Gutsbesitzers, mit einem offenen, geistreichen Gesicht, schien weder an dem Gespräche der Anderen, noch an ihrem kleinen Zechgelage Theil zu nehmen. Vor ihm stand ein Kristallglas mit reinem Wasser, von welchem er zuweilen suppte, während sein ausdrucksvolles Auge von Zeit zu Zeit in die fernen Regionen des Himmels schweifte; denn ungeachtet schien er mit seinen Gedanken dem Gespräche der heitern Zecher zu folgen, dies verrieth das wechselnde Muskelspiel seines Antlitzes und das zeitweilige Nicken seines Kopfes.

"Dieser Mann, an der äussersten Rechte am Tische und von so geistreichem Aussehn, war seines eigentlichen Bewerbes ein Buchdrucker und ein erfindungsreicher Kopf, denn eben hat er lächelnd vernommen, wie eine seiner letzten Erfindungen, ein Sparofen, von seinem Freunde, Meredith, welcher dicht an seiner Seite recht wacker der Punschbowle zusprach, den Anderen mit vielem Ruhme auseinander gesetzt worden war. Aber der Nachbar zur äussersten Linken, am Tische ganz unten, trug nicht die ruhigen Züge der Besonnenheit und Geistesstärke des erwähnten Buchdruckers." (Pp. 120-121.)

The bombastic speeches of the hero himself do not concern us here. His views are entirely revolutionary, but Franklin cannot refrain from interposing the following remarks (p. 130): " 'Das Zwerge mit der Donnerheule des Zeus spielten,' fiel lä-

chelnd der Buchdrucker ein; 'dass das Werk des Lichtes, das Werk Gottes nicht mit Feuer und Schwert, nicht mit Blut und Brand gefördert wird!—O Menschheit und Wahnsinn,' setzte er hinzu; 'Ihr meint Berge zu versetzen und einen Welttheil aus seinen Fugen zu heben und wisst nicht, ob Eure unüberwindliche Armada vom Hauche des Weltgeistes verweht, im nächsten Sturme zu Boden Sinken wird! Meint Ihr denn, Ihr hochtragenden Titanen, dass die Völker Europas mit all' ihren uralten Traditionen, ihren Sitten und Gewohnheiten mit ihrer ganzen Geschichte, ein Federball eurer Launen seien, welche Ihr mit einem einzigen Gluthauche Eurer falschen Begeisterung in andere Bahnen wehen könnt; glaubt Ihr, dass Eurer ersten Ankerwerfen auf dem Boden Europas, dass die ersten Töne Eurer sogenannten Weltposaune die Mauern von Jericho in Trümmern zerschmettern werden? Wisst: wie ein Alexander der Eroberer werdet Ihr mitten in Eurem Siegeslaufe verschwinden, wie Attila im eigenen Blute ersticken, wie Bajazet zuletzt im Käfig enden, dessen Eisenstangen die falschen Grundlehren Eurer Freiheit sein werden. Wer Stürme säet, wird Stürme ernten, und von Euch wird man sagen was Britannien auf seine Denkmünze schrieb, 'Deus afflavit et dissipati sunt'.'

S. 131: "Aber noch hatte der Buchdrucker, dessen edlen Antlitz bei dieser Rede wie das eines gottbegeisterten Sehers der Zukunft leuchtete, seine Worte nicht geendet, als der Italiener glühenden Antlitzes wieder aufsprang und auf eine Marmorsäule zurannte, welche unweit des Tisches stand und eine schöne symbolische Statute des geharnischten Kriegesgottes und der geflügelten Göttin der Freiheit trug, zu deren Füßen eben eine Schale mit Purpurfarbe stand, welche der kunstsinnige Gärtner des weissen Hauses zur Verschönerung der beiden Statuen und die symbolisch umschlingenden Blumen-Guirlanden bereit gestellt hatte.

"Der Italiener riss den Pinsel aus dieser Schale . . . schrieb jetzt mit blutrothen Lapidarzeichen seinen Namen an die Statute des Krieges und der fessellosen Freiheit—'Mazzarini.'

"Aber ernst und ruhig nahm ihm jetzt der Buchdrucker den

blutroth gefärbten Pinsel und tauchte ihn in die nebenstehende Schale mit klarer weisser Farbe.

“ ‘Auch ich!’ rief er, ‘will meinen Namen zu den Füssen dieser Statute aufschreiben, und nach einem Jahrzehend soll er auch an dieser Stelle zu lesen sein und Zeugenschaft geben, dass sich mein Wort bewährte: Freiheit, ohne Gesetz ist ein Unding, auf Blut und Trümmern fusst keine stattliche Ordnung, und Menschenpläne ohne Gottes Hilfe sind Spinnewebe, welche der Flug einer kleinen Wespe zerreißen kann.’

“Und der schlichte Buchdrucker schrieb jetzt mit schneeweisser Farbe und fester Hand auf die Piedestale der Statue der Freiheit in grossen Zügen seinen Namen: *Benjamin Franklin*.”

II. In Berthold Auerbach's *Das Landhaus am Rhein*, 2. Band, 2. Kapitel, Seite 7. Roland's father speaks thus of Franklin: “Seht her! Hier ist ein echter Mensch, das Genie des gesunden Verstandes und des festen Willen. Electricität ist stets in der Luft, aber nicht immer sammelt sie sich und wird zum Blitz, der die Atmosphäre läutert. Das Genie ist die in der Luft des Geistes angesammelte und freigewordene Electricität.”

Seite 8: “Kein Philosoph, kein Dichter, kein Staatsmann kein Handwerker, kein Gelehrter von Profession, und doch alles das zugleich; ein Sohn der Mutter Natur und der Amme Erfahrung, der ohne wissenschaftliche Führung im Walde die Heilkräuter selbst findet.

“Wenn ich einen Jüngling zu erziehen hätte, nicht zu einem bestimmten Beruf, sondern nur, dass er ein wahrer Mensch und guter Bürger würde, ich würde zu ihm sprechen; mein Sohn, hier sieh, wie ein Mensch sich selbst bilden kann; ahme ihm nach, werde du in dir wie *Benjamin Franklin* in sich geworden. Verstehe mich wohl. Ich sage es gibt in der neuen Geschichte keinen zweiten Menschen, an dessen Leben und Denken sich ein Mensch unsrer Tage so heranbilden liess, wie an *Benjamin Franklin*. Warum nicht Washington, der so gross und rein ist?

“Washington war Soldat und Staatsmann, aber er hat die Welt nicht in sich entstehen lassen und nicht aus sich gefunden. Er hat durch Beherrschung und Lenkung anderer bewirkt, *Franklin* durch Lenkung und Beherrschung seiner selbst.

“Wenn die Zeit kommt, wo man von Schlachten sprechen wird, wie wir heute von Menschenfressen; wenn die ehrliche, fleissige, menschenfreundliche Arbeit die Geschichte der Menschheit bildet, dann wird ein Mann wie *Franklin* neu erstehen. Moses, Jesus, Mohammed erschien Gott in der Einsamkeit, der Wüste, Spinoza erkannte ihn in der Einsamkeit der Studirstube, *Franklin* in der Einsamkeit auf dem Meere und im Ringen mit der Arbeit.

“Die Welt würde nicht besonders viele Schönheit haben, wenn alle Menschen wären wie *Franklin*, seinem Wesen fehlt jeglicher romantische Duft; aber die Welt würde in Rechtschaffenheit, Wahrhaftigkeit, Arbeit und Hilfeleistung leben. Jetzt sagen sie Liebe und freuen sich ihrer schönen Gefühle, aber ihr dürft nur von Liebe reden, wenn ihr sie nie bethätigt habt.

“In *Franklin* ist das von Sokrates und besonders wohlthuend wirkt sein Humor; er lässt uns auch herzlich lachen. *Franklin* ist gute Prosa, verständig, durchsichtig, haltbar. Das ist das Günstige und Auszeichnende im Leben *Franklins*, dass er der erste ‘self-made man’ war.

“Wollten wir dem Alterthum gleich eine mythische Gestalt bilden für jene Welt, die sich Amerika nennt, von Europa die Götter—ich meine, die geistlichen Ideen mitbrachte und desto frei ein eigen Leben aufbaute—wollt ihr eine Menschengestalt für diesen Gedanken, da steht *Benjamin Franklin*. Er war voll Wissens und niemand hatte ihn gelehrt, er war voll Religion und hatte keine Kirche, er war ein Menschenfreund und doch ein kluger Kenner ihrer Bosheit.

“Er hat den Blitz zu leiten verstanden, nicht nur den aus den Wolken, sondern auch den aus den Gewittersleidenschaften des Menschengemüts; er hat jene Klugheitsregeln gefasst, die gegen Zerfahrenheit sichern, unsere Selbstführung reif machen. Warum ich ihn aber zum Führer in der Erziehung eines Menschen nehmen möchte, ist das: er stellt den einfachen, gesunden Menschenverstand dar, den festen und sichern, nicht den genial überraschenden, aber den bürgerlich, politisch, wissenschaftlich und sittlich, ruhig und stetig wohlführend. Luther war der Besieger des Mittelalters; *Franklin* ist der erste moderne, sich selbst aufbauende Mensch.

“*Franklin* hat keine neue Grundsätze in die Welt gebracht, aber er hat was ein ehrlicher Mensch in sich finden kann, rein ausgestaltet.

“Was *Franklin* ist und gibt, hat nichts Besonders, nichts Aufregendes, Vorräussehendes, Geheimnisvolles, nichts farbig Glänzendes, Blendendes, es ist das Wasser des Lebens, dessen alle Kreatur bedarf. Der Mensch des vergangenen achtzehnten Jahrhunderts hatte keinen Sinn für das Volkstum, konnte ihn nicht haben, das war ein Drängen und Treiben aus dem freien Gedanken heraus, bis zur Spitze und Schlusse des Jahrhunderts, bis zur Revolution.

“*Franklin* ist der Sohn dieses Jahrhunderts, er kennt nur die dem Menschen eingeborenen Kräfte, nicht die ererbten.”

Roland says, Volume 4, page 193: “Ich habe Lilian hier getroffen. Sagen Sie nicht, dass wir noch zu jung seien; wir sind älter durch Ereignisse. *Benjamin Franklin* wollte ja Miss Read auch heirathen, als er achtzehn Jahre alt war. Wir haben uns gelobt, erst wenn der Krieg zu Ende, einander anzugehören.”

III. Charles Sealsfield. *Das Kajütenbuch oder nationale Charakteristiken*. Friedrich M. Fels, Leipzig, Seite 193:

“‘Sollte das meinen,’ unterbrach hier den heftig auffahrenden Oberst Cracker ein anderer unserer zahllosen Obersten; ‘sollte das meinen, denn wer erinnert sich nicht, wie so tödlich lang und langsam für unsere Väter und Vorväter sich damals in den achtzigen Jahren die Friedensunterhandlungen zu Paris hinzogen?’

“‘Die doch von einem *Franklin* geleitet wurden!’ machte sich hier Oberst Cracker Luft.

“‘Der sich aber bei dieser Gelegenheit ganz und gar nicht als Staatsmann bewies!’ fiel wieder der General ein. ‘Es unterliegt gar keinem Zweifel, dass er, überlistet vom schlaunen Vergennes, bereits auf die Basis eines zwanzigjährigen Waffenstillstandes zwischen uns und England, zu Unterhandeln angefangen, als Jay noch zu rechter Zeit sich durch an die englischen Minister wandte, und statt des Waffenstillstandes den Frieden, und somit die Unabhängigkeitsanerkennung erhielt. Das war dem Franzosen ein Donnerschlag, und er zeigte sich ausseror-

entlich ungebändig, denn nach seinem perfiden Plänchen sollten wir die englische Botmässigkeit nur abgeschüttelt haben, um in die französische überzugehen; aber Jay blieb fest, und *Franklin*, obwohl von den Lockungen des französischen Hofes umspinnen, gewährte endlich doch seinen Fehler.' ”

Seite 194: “Diese frühe, gesunde republikanische,—uns so eigentümliche Erziehung—die uns ebensowohl zum Regieren—als Gehorchen eignet—lernen wir erst gehörig schätzen, wenn wir unter die unerzogenen oder verzogenen Völker und Nationen sowohl unseres Amerikas als Europas geworfen, ihre Kindheit, Hilflosigkeit und Unerfahrenheit gleichsam mit Händen zu greifen Gelegenheit erhalten.”

IV. Elise Polko, in her book entitled *Musikalische Märchen, Phantasien und Skizzen*, Leipzig, 1877 (Band I, S. 145-163, *Die Erfindung der Harmonika*), tells in a most delightful manner, in her style so dear to the hearts of children, of the visits of the renowned Dr. Franklin to the family Davis in London. Mary Davis, the elder of the two charming daughters of the widow Davis, felt the deepest veneration for the philosopher, and even in spite of his years the fibers of her heart were often touched by a tinge of love that seemed to grow because of the absolute impossibility of such a union. One afternoon, Dr. Franklin was suddenly overcome, in their presence, by an attack of severe illness and Mary thinking that the aged man was about to die, ran madly out into the cold wintry evening and after a long search returned with a physician. Dr. Franklin's illness was of short duration, but Mary by the exposure had caught a cold, that left so disastrous an effect that her beautiful voice whose tones had so often delighted Franklin in wonderful songs, was no more. The story relates the circumstances in a most realistic manner, and we are told that to alleviate the terrible affliction that had befallen Miss Davis, he invented for her the flute-toned harmonica.



CHAPTER IX.

LETTERS FROM AUSTRIA AND GERMANY TO FRANKLIN.

The letters here quoted have all been taken from the original manuscripts in the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia. With few exceptions, this is the first time that they have appeared in print. There are eighty-nine letters in the German language directed to Franklin, in the above mentioned collection; many of them in the best legible form, many unfortunately practically illegible. The letters from Germans to Franklin were usually addressed in the French language, or in English, strongly marked with foreign properties. On many of the German letters we find somewhere a note in red ink, in Franklin's own hand, asking for a résumé or translation of the letter in question.

The arrangement of the following letters is a chronological one, and includes but a meagre proportion of manuscripts, worthy of careful consideration. The correspondence with the Austrian physician, Ingen Housz, would form a large chapter in itself. In the Library of Congress, there can be found a number of this doctor's letters addressed to Jefferson, after the return of Franklin to America. In the book entitled *Jan Ingen Housz, sein Leben und seine Werke als Naturforscher und Arzt; unter Mitwirkung von Professor Th. Escherich, Professor E. Mach, Professor R. von Töpley und Wegscheider*, by Professor Julius Wiesner (Festausgabe zum I. Internationalen botanischen Kongress in Wien, 1905), there is mention that the K. K. Hofbibliothek contains *Ein im Nachlasse gefundenes Manuscript, welches die lateinische Übersetzung zahlreicher Briefe enthält, die an Franklin in Betreff der Elektrizität von verschiedenen Gelehrten gerichtet wurden*. One letter from Franklin to Ingen Housz was sold in an auction in Munich, 1882, but the purchaser cannot be found. A collection treating the correspondence of Franklin with this Austrian court physician, can be found in the *Autographen Katalog von Gilhofer und Rauchburg in Wien* (Auktion III, 2 März, 1901), here the contents of the letters are given in brief. Among these there is a reference to a letter from

Franklin, dated September 19, 1786, which discusses medical methods. Unfortunately, from Professor Wiesner's careful search in the "Wiener Universitätsbibliothek", we are assured that there are absolutely no letters of Franklin to be had. (From a letter to the author, April 3, 1913.)

"Wien, 3. April 1913.

"Sehr geehrtes Fräulein!

"Ihr Schreiben mit dem Poststempel Philadelphia, 10. März, habe ich erhalten und durch dasselbe lernte ich Ihre Wünsche die Correspondenz Ingen Housz, Franklin betreffend, zu kennen.

"Leider kann ich diese Wünsche nicht erfüllen und zwar aus folgenden Gründen.

"Aus der mir zugänglich gewesenen Korrespondenz des Ingen Housz und aus anderen vertraulichen Documenten geht mit Bestimmtheit hervor, dass Ingen Housz mit Franklin in innigem Verkehr gestanden. Eine Arbeit über Wärmeleitung ist von beiden gemeinschaftlich ausgeführt worden, aber schliesslich von Ingen Housz allein veröffentlicht. Aber trotz vieler Bemühungen ist es mir nicht die regen Briefe ihrer zweifellos sehr reichen Korrespondenz aufzutreiben. Die Wiener Universitätsbibliothek besitzt gar keine Briefe dieser Korrespondenz, wo ich besonders anführe, da Sie hofften, von dort Briefe zu bekommen oder Adressen zu erhalten.

"Es tut mir sehr leid, dass ich Ihnen sehr geehrtes Fräulein nicht dienen kann.

"Hochachtungsvoll,

"Ihr ergb.

"J. WIESNER."

(a) Correspondence from Austria.

Franklin's correspondence from Austria centers around his intercourse with the physician and scientist, Jan Ingen Housz, and is a most interesting one, since he discussed with his friend a varied series of subjects ranging from science to politics and from personal matters to those of imperial courts. From Passy, October 2, 1781, he gives Ingen Housz the following description

of Arnold's treatment as depicted in the Philadelphia German Almanac: "You will see by a German Almanac which I send you, how his Effigies was treated at Philadelphia. And since you ask for American Newspapers, I will send you some German Ones. We have there in that language published weekly at Philadelphia and Germantown, by which you may judge that the People with us who speak it are very numerous and now that England can no longer monopolize our commerce the aged Connection of that people with their Mother Country will be a means of opening a considerable American Trade with Germany by the North Seas and the Mediterranean. . . . I last year requested of Congress to release me from the Service, that I might spend the Evening of Life more agreeably in philosophic Leisure. But I was refused."⁸⁹

Previous to the above Ingen Housz had written from Brussels on May 3, 1780—"I hope you are not so entirely involved in the troubles and business of the world Politics, as to have abandoned entirely the world Nature whose laws made by the supreme wisdom and is constant and unalterable as its legislature himself. It would indeed, be bad to me to conceive that a man a Philosopher so often and so successfully employed in researches of the most intricate and the most mysterious operations of Nature, should have so far lost all feeling for those truly delightful occupations of mind, as to be given over without reserve to the pursuit of systems formed by man and build upon foundations of so little solidity, as to be often overturned by men, and accidental circumstances."⁹⁰

"To his excellency Benj. Franklin
minister plenipot. from the Congress
to the French Court.

"Dear Sir

"I hope you have received in du time my last. dated April 24 together with the copy of a book in the German language. Mr. le Begue has the original first Manuscript in hands, but does

⁸⁹ American Philosophical Society.

⁹⁰ American Philosophical Society.

not go on with printing of it . . . [Here is inserted a reference to his friend Wharton's honesty and two letters are intrusted in this letter to Franklin to be handed over to this same friend.]

"The Emperor does not give all hope of seeing you here as minister on the entering general Congress; but nobody wishes more sincerely for such a meeting as i. Let me hear from you weather our hopes are grounded, and weather Lord Shelburn and Mr. Fox will declare you a free people. I hope that you are content with your countrymen.

"Mr. Le Begue informs me he has a letter you wrote to me but not finished. But, pray, send it to me as it is, if you should not have time to finish it. Let me have something to tell from you to my Imperial Master, who often asks me news about you. letters delivered to Count Mercy will surely come to hand.

"i expect the new English ministers will soon become as haughty as the former if succes attend the national armies, as this caracter is that of the whole nation.

"Give my best compliments to your son, and do not entirely forget

"your old and faithfull

"friend J. Ingen Housz.

"Vienna Austria, Juin 12th, 1782."

"To his excellency B Franklin, Minister Plenip. of the United States at Passy.

"Dear Friend—

[After an incidental mention of the lightning experiment demonstrated in Cremona and the request that Franklin may submit to him an explanation for the same, the next letter reads as follows]: ". . . I do not give up hopes of a general Congress being held at Vienna, as, besides the affaires to be adjusted between Gr. Britain and the United States of America, the other European Powers have direct or indirect relation with America, as a New power starting up all at once. old treaty between Gr. Brittain & Holland will be annihilated and new ones made and many new regulations must take place between all the European Powers, after the tremendous power of that proud insuluary nation will be reduced to a mere moderate condition. All those

things cannot be adjusted so soon and require some time to be settled, which I imagine can't be conveniently done but by convoking a congress.

"i am very glad to see that your wighty political occupations have not yet been able to make you laid aside those pursuits which were formerly your favorite studies. I hope that for the sake of Philosophy, that you will fulfill your desire to pass the evening of life in the pursuit of nature's laws. I wish I was at Liberty to follow you on the Spot, where you will finish you glorious carreer, and where i myself have had the strongest inclination to finish mine: and indeed this thought had a great wight with me in resolving to employe a part of my fortune in a way, by which there was a faire prospect of augmenting my Stock so as to make me independent of Europe: and indeed if I could write to you, what I think upon the times to be expected in this country, you would certainly think it much better for me to live in a country of freedom whose laws are framed by those who submit to them, and where no frowns of a monarch will ever inspire terror and apprehension to any man. . . . [Here follows a discussion of the lightning and the expression of the writer's appreciation of Franklin's knowledge in such matters.] . . . they believe you have rightly understood the meaning of the author, as I remember having run over the performance when I was with you at Passy. i made an extract of what you wrote about the American Affairs in the letter accompanying the reflections on pere Bartlett's book—and at what you say that it is the interest of whole Europe to prevent a federal connexion between Gr. Britain & the American free states; join some reflections about the danger to be apprehended for the tranquility of Europe if so proud and quarlsome a nation should be again united with North America to also have its full support in time of warr and be at an expense to keep it in time of peace. I did make use of those reflexions you communicated to me by reasoning about this affair. I gave the paper to the first lord of the bedchamber, who gave it to the Emperor. He kept it. But I made no extract of Your letter of July 4th, as you write me the contents are for my private information. I am much obliged to you for those

informations and will be very glad of knowing from time to time who your countrie affaires go on. But it is a pity that letters remain such long while behind. . . . [Here he writes his intention of forwarding his mail by the hands of Count Mercy and tells Franklin of Le Begue's impression of his own books.]

"i am very respectfully

"Dear Sir

"Your obedient humble serv.

"and affectionate friend

"J. Ingen Housz."

"to Bej. Franklin

"Passy.

"Dear Friend,

"This is only to accompany the adjoined letter to Mr. Weinbrenner, who as you see, does not lose time to make use of your kind proposition of giving some introductory letters to his agent, who is Mr. *Donath*. This gentleman will set out in a few weeks for Philadelphia, New York & Boston, where he will spend two years. He will carry with him various productions of this country. I hope you will as soon, as convenient for you, grant the request of Mr. Weinbrenner.

"Your original letter with the medal inclosed is not yet come to hand, neither the Philadelphia Almanac, you was so good as to send me a year ago . . . [describes his enclosed profile].

"Your advice about the statuary was thankfully received and approved of. I received at last from le Bague the first sheets of my book under the press at Paris—I did not find a single typographical error in them.

"I hope still to see you here with your grandson before you set out for your beloved America.

"i am with greatest estime

"Your most obedient serv.

"and affectionate friend

"J. Ingen Housz.

"Vienna juin 23, 1783."

"Dear Friend

"Mr. Grand acquainted me with your save arrival, your continuation in good health and with your being appointed governor of Pennsylvania. This happy news has filled me with so much pleasure that I cannot but wish you joye on it. . . .

"I publish from time to time some new books either in German or in French and should wish to send you a copy of them if I knew an opportunity to send it over without expense.

"I hope the two volumes of my German books, *Vermischte Schriften*, are come to hand. They are delivered in hands of Mr. Grand. The Emperor and other great fox ask me often whether I have got no letters from you.

"I hope you have found your country in the enjoyment of Freedom, which they owe to you, and that you enjoy yourself the happiness you deserve for your services from a gratefull Nation, and strength enough of mind and body to consolidate their union, without which they can't remain free nor respectable.

"Yours

"J. Ingen Housz

"Vienne in Autriche March 8, 1786."

The following letter from Valltravers and from J. M. Birckenstoch serves to show the high esteem in which another member of the court circle of Vienna held Franklin:

"Vienna in Germany June 1, 1785.

"Sir!

"Our worthy mutual Friend, Dr. Ingenhousz, has imparted to me, your long wished for Release from yr., alltho' honorable, yet too laborious public Station, most gloriously filled these 50 years; not only to the salvation of yr. own native Country from wicked abuse of yr. faithfull Loyalty & Attachment to yr. mother Country, from its selfish & tyrannical oppression & intended bondage but to the Benefit of all Mankind, by establishing & maintaining a sacred Asylum to distressed In-

dustry to persecuted Merit & to rational legal Liberty all the World over. Give me Leave, dear Sir, as an old Friend & admirer of yours to congratulate with You, on the approaching Returne of Yr. peaceable domestic Felicity and the well deserved Applause of yr. forever obliged constituents & their remotest Posterity.

"The friendly Invitation you have given to Dr. Ingenhousz, to come over to Philadelphia, and to join you and yr. Labors & those of yr. Academy, to promote usefull Knowledge, Arts and Sciences, has been a very tempting one. Had it pleased Heaven to prolong the Life of the late Empress-Queen, he might have obtained her Leave, to absent himself for some years and still to hold the Pension of L500 per annum bestowed upon him. . . .

"I have translated yr. *Instructions to those who think of settling in N. America* into the German Language & apply'd for Leave to print it But the Censure would not permit its Publication. There being an excellent Printing Office at Philadelphia in the german Language, directed by Mr. Heiner, I sh. most willingly furnish him, not only with this, but also many other interesting translations for the Benefit, both of the American States & for the Inhabitants of Europe, which might obtain a ready sale at Hamburg, for all Germany and Switzerland. Such as Mr. Adams Letters of an American Farmer; and what Performances of yours and of yr. Academicians, might be intrusted to my Translation into german, french, and italian—I would also translate some excellent french Publications into English, for the Use of the Americans; such as Mr. Polieu *Treatise du Gouvernement des Moeurs*; or what other works you would be pleased to point out to me. Thus would the Remainder of my Days not be lost, as was my whole Life, in profitable, useful Action and Instruction. Happy, if guided by yr. Knowledge and Experiences, and actuated by my Love of mankind, I can be made instrumental, in any Degree in promoting and diffusing of Truth, Vertue and Happiness!

"With this my fixed Resolution founded on such Principles,

I humbly beg leave to crave the Continuance of yr. Kindness
& Friendship to

"Sir!

"Yr. Excellcy's

"Most sincerely devoted hble. Serv.

"Rodh. Valltravers."

"Monsieur,

"L'accueil flatteur, dont Mr. Ingenhousz, les gens de lettres en général et, j'ose le dire, le Corps diplomatique d'ici ont honoré (-Monsieur)—cy- jointe m'enhardit, Monsieur, d'en présenter à Votre Excellence quelques exemplaires en Vous suppliant de les agréer comme un hommage de ma part, et de vouloir bien en distribuer aux héros et hommes d'état chez vous, qui prendront quelqu' intérêt au sujet a une production dans ce genre parceque je sais que vous l'avez aimé. Ne Soyez pas surpris Monsieur de vous paroître au milieu de Vienne un monument du Roi Frédéric. . . .

" . . . j'ai essayé de concentrer dans co tableau sa vie sa caractère, ses actions memorables, l'histoire et l'esprit de son reign la marche et la profondeur de sa politique de peindre ce Prince unique d'après la verité sans adulation, sans la defier. . . . Votre Excellence sera a tous egards le juge le plus compétent, le plus impartial du merite de l'ouvrage. . . .

"Je prie Dieu, qu'il Vous conserve a la gloire de Votre patrie, à la consolation de toutes les gens de bien, une longue suite d'années, et qu'il Vous comble des benedictions reserves aux plus dignes mortels. Agreez ces Voeux Mansieur aussi vraies et sinceres, qui seront toujours les sentiments plenis de respect et de veneration, avec lesquels j'ai l'honneur d'être

"De Votre Excellence

"Le très humble et très obeissant

"Serviteur

"J. M. Birckenstock

"Consoiller antique actuel de sa Majeste le Empereur

"à Vienne

"à Vienne

"en Autriche

"ce 29 Decembre 1786."

(b) *Correspondence from Germany*

The following list has been made from actual letters to Franklin. Their contents varies. In some we find mere inquiries as to the whereabouts of relatives or friends. In others expressions of praise or veneration for Dr. Franklin's achievements or petitions to him for his intercession and interest in a personal or commercial enterprise :

- | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Anspach | 21. Felsberg |
| 2. Augsburg | 22. Frankfurt a/M. |
| 4. Berlin | 23. Giessen |
| 3. Bahlingen (Wurtemberg) | 24. Gotha |
| 5. Bonn | 25. Hamburg |
| 6. Bremen | 26. Hannover |
| 7. Butzow | 27. Heidelberg |
| (Mecklinburg-Schwerin) | 28. Hildeheim |
| 8. Cassell | 29. Homburg |
| 9. Carlsruhe | 30. Jena |
| 10. Colmar | 31. Kiel |
| 11. Cologne | 32. Landeshutt (Silesia) |
| 12. Cüstrin | 33. Leipzig |
| 13. Dessau | 34. Ludwigsburg |
| 14. Dresden | 35. Mainz |
| 15. Durlach (Schwaben) | 36. Mannheim |
| 16. Dusseldorf | 37. Metz |
| 17. Ebingen | 38. München |
| 18. Einsenach | 39. Nordhausen |
| 19. Erfurt | 40. Nürnberg |
| 20. Erlangen | 41. Strassburg |
| | 42. Stuttgart |

A LETTER OF THANKS.

"Monsieur

"La compliance que vous avez eue à me procurer une autre joli Perspective me fait prendre la Liberté à vous prier derechef de m'envoyer le plutôt possible encore un pareil. . . .

"Je serraï par contre toujours pret à vos ordres dans ces quartiers ci et ne demand que l'occasion à vous prouver le sin-

cère attachment et la parfaite Considération avec laquelle j'ai l'honneur d'être.

"Monsieur

"Votre très humble et très

"obéissant serviteur

"L. M. Leither

"Conseller de S. A. S. Electorate Palatine

"francfort

"le 16 Mars 1767-

"Mes assurance de Respect

"à Mr. John Pringle."

"Cassell March 17, 1770

"Sir;

"I sympathize so much with Your publick spirit and your Genius You have happily devoted to your countries service and improvement of natural Philosophy, that the keeping me in Your good remembrance is the least liberty I can indulge me with. I cannot therefore neglect to trouble You with these lines and to recommend You, Mr. Lichtenberg, Professor of Mathematics and natural Philosophy in the University of Giessen. He is very desirous to be nearer acquainted with a Man he values so high in so many respects; and besides he himself will plead the liberty I take and easily gain a part in the friendship you have bestowed on me.

"The compliments for me, which last Summer You ordered to Mr. Merk, who had the honour to see You in Switzerland, have been delivered to me. They were very welcome to me, as shall be too the dearer proof of Your continuing my worthy friend the new Edition of Your electrical letters, which I hope will now be finished.

"I recommend me to Your and to Mr. Pringle's further favour and have the honour to be with the highest and warmest regard

"Dear Sir, Your most obedient humble Servant

"R. E. Raspe"

Rudolf Erich Raspe, the German antiquarian and mineralogist and author of *Baron Münchhausens Erzählungen seiner wunderbaren Reise und Kreigsabenteuer in Rüssland* from which he had drawn on Swift. We see thus that literary men in Germany had personal acquaintance with Franklin and Sir John Pringle.

"München, April 10, 1773.

"Sir:

"The fame of your knowledge and of your Humanity is spread abroad in all the nations of Europe so that i take the Liberty to write you and to inquire you about the possibility of the Merchandising which a company of Bavarie will undertake in the American Republic. We do hope for much supporting to the accomplishing of this our design in the Maritime Towns of Germany, Holland, France and Spain. But we have not accounts enough from the American coast; you shall oblige infinitely our Company, if you did order, that any man give us Notice of the Merchandises, which we could put off upon the American coast, likewise of the American products, which we could sell in Europe. But your command can procure us that information. We are reminded to send a factor to Philadelphia in this yet. We desire your counsel and your orders and tell you with all the Liberty republican, that we are your worshipers. i am with very much esteem

"Sir

"your very humble servant

"jos. Utschneider bailiff

"to Anger in Bavarie

"You will pardon my dry

"stile to a learning."

"Bonn, sur le Rin le 18 Jan. 1778

"Wollgebohrner Herr

"Hochzuverehrender Herr.

"Schon vom Anfang des jezigen Americanischen Krieges hatte ich das grösste Verlangen dem Hochpreisslichen General Congress brave zu dienen; aber unzulängliche Mittel zur Reise

hinderten diesen Vorsatz; Nun wo ich seit einiger Zeit alles dazu erspart habe, um entweder über Paris oder Rotterdam abzugehen, da finde ich in denen hiesigen Zeitungen das gehorsamst beigelegte unterstrichen Avertisement, zu immer grosser Verwunderung. Ich glaube zwar dass es von einem müssigen Kopf frei inserirt worden; jedoch und um meine Reise nach America mit Gewisheit und nützlich unternehmen zu können. So will ich mich mit Eur. Wohlgeborn. hochgeneigter Erlaubniss hier durch um den Grund oder Ungrund dieses Advertisements ganz treu gehorsamst erkundigen und wünsche dass es ganz falsch seye—und Gott der Allemächtige denen Waffen des hochpreiss. Congresses einen unaufhaltlichen Sieg in Gnaden geben möge. . . .

“Eur. Wohlgeb.

“treu gehorsamer Diener,

“August Wilhelm Weyl.”

Enclosed we find a copy of the “Gnädigst privilegirtes Bonnisches Intelligenz-Blatt, Dienstag, den 13ten Januar 1778.” Under the “Politische Nachrichten” we read “Auszug eines Schreibens von einem Offizier zu Philadelphia, vom 27sten Oktober,” the following:

“Vor einiger Zeit ist grosse Anzahl Offiziers, welche mit Rekomendations—Briefe von den Herrn Franklin und Deane versehen waren, von hier nach Amerika abgereiset, und theils zu Boston, theils zu Charles-Town angekommen. Von da haben sie an den Herrn Washington und den Kongress geschrieben, um bei der amerikanischen Armee placirt zu werden; sie haben aber zur Antwort erhalten dass keine Plätze vakant waren. . . .

“Man spricht wiederum stark vom Kriege, und einige halten solchen für unvermeidlich. . . .

“Der Herr Franklin hat dieser Tage eine lange Konferenz mit dem Ministerium gehabt, und ist von demselben mit vieler Achtung begegnet worden.”

This letter is accompanied by an English translation of the newspaper clipping and a short résumé of Weyl's German letter.



This shows that Franklin's knowledge of the German language is most limited.

The gist of this is as follows:

A. W. Weyl, the author of it, says that he had always entertained a great deal of good will for the Congress and has a mind to prove instrumental to them in the present war, but he has read in the newspaper of Bonn (whose there is an exemplary enclosed) that a great deal of officers being gone to America with recommendation from D. Franklin and M. Deane has been refused by Congress.

He asks whether this news be true or false.

Jacob Hemmer, in a Latin letter written from Mannheim, October 8, 1778, sends a very comprehensive list of books for America. Among these are the following (whether Franklin had knowledge of the authors is doubtful, but he must have heard indirectly of such as Lessing, Wieland, Gottsched and Klopstock):

Gottsched	<i>grammatica germanica Testamen artes poetica germ.</i>
Reichard	<i>doctrina de praepositionibus germ.</i>
Hemmer	<i>grammatica germ.</i>
Fulda	<i>Derivates vocabulorum germ. 2 vol.</i>
Gellert	<i>Opera omnia prosica et poet.</i>
Rabner	<i>Satyra. 6 vol.</i>
Gesner	<i>Opera poeta et prosa.</i>
Lessing	<i>Opera varia</i>
	comedia
	tragedia
	dramaturgie
	bibliotheca theatralis
Wieland	<i>Opera poetica</i>
	<i>Opera prosaica</i>
	<i>Armadis</i>
	<i>Sternheim</i>
	<i>Diogenes</i>
	<i>Speculum aureum</i>

	<i>Don Sylvio</i>
	<i>Agathon</i>
Uz	<i>Opera poetica</i>
Hagedorn	<i>Opera poetica</i>
Klopstock	<i>Messias</i>
	<i>Oda</i>
	<i>Opera poetica et prosaica</i>
Zacharia	<i>Poemata universa</i>
List without works	Jacobi, Müller, Haller, Kaniz, Kleist, Nicholai, Ramler.

"Heidelberg, Oct. 10, 1778.

"Hond. Sir

"According to your request I have taken the liberty in writing to you having enclosed five letters directed to the care of Mr. Parr a particular friend of mine in Philadelphia, as my business obliges me to tarry longer here than I first expected— & anxious that my friends should hear from me, I have taken this liberty of enclosing them to your care & if opportunity offers, I should be under many obligations you will take the trouble of transmitting them to *America*. I was sorry I had not the happiness of seeing you before my departure from *Paris*. I waited on you to take my leave but you had gone to *Versailles*. In regard of my objection coming to this country— which I informed you I am so far happy in hearing it is at interest and under the care of a wealthy Uncle. . . . I am likewise happy to inform you that I am in this country amongst the midst of friends of our cause from the Lord to the Peasant— I have been examined through every garrison I passd but found no interruption in my rout. I daily carry my uniform—acknowledge my rank & support the character of an American *Officer*— in general the Germans have had a feint Idea of the Strength of our country & for what our glorious opposition was for— many have visited me and are anxious for going to *America*— the *Elector* left this last week for *Bavaria* when he succeeds the last dececyd Elector their appears to be a general discontent among the people here of Protestant societies, about their rulers—who are chiefly of the Catholic Religion which has made

great partys—& seem to bear a great antipathy to each other—particularly in the present war between the Emperor & the King of Prussia—the former secretly praying for Prussian success . . . as I now have given you a knowledge of my safe arrival . . . & the disposition of the people in this part of the globe toward us.

“I shall conclude not forgetting to return you many thanks for your friendly consul. I have the Honour to remaine with much respect your Honour’s most

“Obt. Hbl. Servant Jacob Rieger.”

“Frankfort-on the Maine Oct. 21st 1778.

“The author asks Franklin for a letter directed to him from Mr. Dumas and continues thus; . . .

“ . . . Mr. Dumas also writes, that a ship arrived at Bordeaux, it is said, Rhode-Island is taken and the B. troops are made prisoners—I pray God you very speedily receive an authentic confirmation of this important news. . . .

“Private letters from Paris received by a banker in this city also say that the court of Spain had resolved on taking an immediate & open part in favor of Am—as you best know if there is any foundatin for it.

“In the English papers of the 6 & 10 inst. which perhaps you have not yet seen, there are ministerial paragraphs declaring the great discontent that prevail in France on account of the late captures, against Monsieur Sarée and yourself, who they say—are looked upon as the chief causes of the war—and they give out that you were obliged to refuge at Ver . . . to avoid the resentment of the mob. Your popularity in *France* to suffer such fabrications to meet with the least credit or cause uneasiness to any of your friends.

“I have the honor to be with the highest respect and esteem

“Sir

“Your most obligd

“and

“most obedient

“Servant

“Sam. W. Stockton”

The father of our famed Baron von Steuben petitioned Franklin in several letters to give him information concerning the welfare of his son. These letters with one exception are in German and in passages very difficult to read. The dates of four not given here are (1) February 11, 1780; (2) December 1, 1781; (3) January 1, 1783; (4) March 29, 1783.

This letter is written in German as well as French.

"Monsieur l'ambassadeur,

"Ayant vu dans la Gazette française que mon fils était véritablement en service ameriquain, en qualité de Général Inspecteur je prends de vous la liberté d'impertuner. Votre Excellence en la priant très humblement d'avoir la bonté de l'ay faire remettre la Lettre inclusé. Les qualités éminentes de votre amiable caractère sont trop connues pour que je l'aye pas tout lieu dis pour que vous voudrés bien avoir la bonté de ne pas me refuser cette grace.

"Je suis et demeurai jusqu'au tombeau avec la reconaissance la plus grande de la considération la plus distinguée.

"De Votre Excellence.

"Le très humbler et très obeirs. serv.

"Signé W. A. von Steuben

"Major & Chevalier de l'ordre pour le

"merite.

"Custrin le 6 Nov. 1779."

"Hochwohlgeborener Herr,

"Höchstzuehrender Herr Ambassadeur

"Eur Excellenz müssen die Freyheit Eur (für) aber manches Schreiben an meinen Sohn den General Leutnant zu übersenden mit gantz gehorsamstem Bitte die Günstigkeit zu haben und es mit sehr gutem Begriffe mit Worten zu befördern die ich mit vollem Respect beharre.

"Eur. Excellenz,

"Gehorsamster Diener,

"W. A. von Steuben.

"Cüstrin

"d. 18. October

"1780."

A letter from von Steuben Cüstrin, April 10, 1780, expresses his joy that his son has written to him, and requests the forwarding of the enclosed letter. This shows that Franklin, no doubt, urged Lieutenant von Steuben to write to his aged father.

"Reverend Father

"As a child of Science & a person who owes to you a protection & numberless attentions during my stay at Paris which will do me profit and honor all my life, I feel toward you more than duty and veneration which would be due to a natural parent for such obligations. . . .

"The coolness with which science is courted at Leipsig & a general disposition to a contentment in such discoveries as the sons of Science in France or great Britain may throw into the world, tends to continue old usages and theories, such parts of the School of Leipsic, as I have at present acquaintance with appear much inferior to that of Paris & no way superior to that young seminary which owes its birth to you & which has already reflected infinite honor to its Patrons reputation & utility to that Country which can only boast of producing Doct. Franklin.

"There is a school at Leipsic where the unhappy mutes of both sexes & all ages are taught to write, speak & read similar to those of Paris and Edinburgh, I was shown there by a friend—when a young pupil of fifteen enquired what countrymen I was, perceiving me to be a stranger—The Master told I was from North America & asked him if he knew what country that was, the pupil answered yes, it was Doct. Franklin's country & that it lay there, pointing to the West.

"For the character, station & person of him by whose name the dumb are even capable of distinguishing a vast powerfull Western country—permit me to submit to the honor of his acceptance the profoundest sentiments of gratitude, duty & most humble regard—and allow me to wish that gracious heaven may, by his life & health continue to his country a fond & affectionate Father, and honorable Patron to Science an ornament & usefull

citizen to the Universe & Parent to whom no one among the children of America can owe greater obligation than

"Yours most sincere friend

"& truly humble sert.

"John Foulke

"Passy.

"Leipsic, Oct. 12th, 1781.

"His Excellency Doct. Franklin."

"Sir,

"Permit me to introduce to Your acquaintance the Bearer Mr. Loder, first physician to the Duke of Saxe Weimar a Man remarkable for his natural & acquired talents & one of the first Anatomists of our Germany. The happy moments which my Son has passed in Yr. company & the civilities You honoured him with as well as the condescendence & kindness You are used to treat with, all Men of talents & Science let me hope a favorable reception of my Friend Loder & will serve as an Apology for the Liberty I presume to take on this occasion.

"Give me leave at the same time to congratulate You, on the happy prospect of seeing your Country at last acknowledged as independent by all Europe & Great Britain itself. The Satisfaction of seeing this great work so near a Conclusion at a general Pacification, must naturally contribute to Yr. happiness, who have had so great a Share in the Delivering Your Country from the oppressions of a Set of despotick Men, then at the head of ye British Administration. May providence shower down on You the choicest of her Blessings, is the sincere wish, together with the most respectuous regard of

"Sir

"Your

"most obedt. humble Servant

"Forster (Joh. Reinhold)

"Halle in the Dutchy of Magdeburg

"April ye 27th 1782.

"His Excellency Benj. Franklin Esq."

"Dear Friend

"I send you Dr. Forster's *Observations made during a voyage around the world* & I have marked the page wherein he explains the formation of those places I spoke to you of and that are hardly higher than high water mark. . . . [The writer here discusses the theory of electricity on wood.]

"But your superior Genius my dear friend well may be able to conquer these objections & dispell the cloud which duly seems to spread upon your explanation.

"Thursday morning."

The above letter, although unsigned, is in Johann Reinhold Forster's handwriting.

Jean Guillaume Backhaus addressed Franklin in a letter from Hanover, 7th of February, 1783, written in French. In this he speaks of establishing a standing army in America and makes the proposition that the regular soldiers in Europe, now benefited by the peace established there, might make arrangements to help establish this army in the United States. Franklin, on the top of this letter has made a note in red ink, which reads as follows:

"That It is probable that the United States will not keep up a Standing Army, having everywhere a well disciplined Militia. That many of the Germans have already deserted the English colonies, and settled in the Country, and it is probable most of them will do the same rather than return to Europe. That I am not authorized to set on foot any such Negotiations, am however obliged to him for his good Will to our Service, & request he would accept my Thanks" . . .

"Monsieur

"Le Ministre de Saxe m'a remis une lettre pour Vous. J'aurai a conférer avec Vous, Monsieur, sur le différents objects de Commerce entre les États unis de l'Amérique et la Saxe.

Indiques moi, je Vous prie, Monsieur, le jour et l'heure auquel je pourai avoir l'honneur de Vous voir.

"Je suis avec tout Respet

"Monsieur

"Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur

"Ehrenhold Frederic Biederman

"Conseiller de Cour de Dresde.

"à Paris

"ceIlme Mars

"1783.

"Rue Plattrière

"Hotel."

"May it please Your Excellence—

"Sir,

"You remember perhaps that in the year 1773 in the time You lodged in the Strand not many miles from Mr. Weddeburne a poor German Scholar recommended to you by the late Mr. Achenwall at Göttingen, willing to go to Philadelphia with an intention of Selling books payed to You his respects and that afterwards in the time of his miserys was relieved very generously by your humanity.

"It is therefore with the full acknowledgment of Your good will You have shewn me at a time I wanted it most, that a Son of freedom congratulates You most sincerely to the late conclusion of a peace honorable both to You and Your Countrie, adding that not yet being married, notwithstanding i since one Year and a half have got a small livelihood at this place I still am of the same opinion, provided I can go there with Your recommendation, or can be certain of finding a lasting employment connected with the proper Salary in the University of Philadelphia in the quality of Professor or Lector of the German and Dutch languages. Likewise might I in the quality of M. of A. give instructions and read lessons in the historical and political Sciences as I have done here already, and in this case I humbly expect to be favored with a Speedy answer, for the month of May advances, and I cannot go very well before the following

1784th year. But even if You should not be pleased to give me Such an employment, I recommending myself, to your Benevolence, wish You well, and shall be always with the greatest respect

“Your Excellencies
“most humble Servant
“Joachim Heinrich Ludewig
“Lector. Publicus of this University.

“at Butzow in the
“Duchy of Meklenburg
“Schwerin the 23 of
“March 1783.”

The following is but one example of the numerous appeals made to Dr. Franklin from commission merchants, manufacturers and the like:

“I hope your Excellency will allow us to represent to you, that during the war-time, we, in an indirect manner loaded several Ships, and which probably reached there several ports now the Peace is wholly concluded, we do not doubt but there will be Military Magazines or Arsenals settled in the different Provinces of America, which may require at the same time a provision of proper new arms, and as the iron of our country is of an excellent quality, and very fit for casting of arms, as likewise our Manufactory of this kind is one of the best, and most renowned in the World ; this enables us to make your Excellency the following proposals:

“In case that the United States of America should determine sooner or later to provide themselves with proper new arms either for their Arsenals or their Troops; we do humbly offer our service to fit you with such from, it were requested that Excellency wou’d be pleased to send us the name, the Character and habitation of the party we shou’d have to deal with concerning the exportation of what may be ordered besides we will point out middling port to facilitate this Intercourse in order to this we would propose to your Excellency John Frederick Droop of Hamborough there might be also sent from America thither a

Model of arms moulded In the manner the United States shou'd desire to have 'em. . . . However we warrant the goodness and solidity of the arms we may hereafter provide you with we beg your Excellency will honour with your Protection our Manufactory of Arms, we likewise recommend ourselves to your favour, and will incessantly offer up to heaven our prayers and good wishes for the continuance of your previous health, and remain with the most profound submission and most inviolate respect

"Your Excellency's

"Most Humble and

"Most Obedient Servants

"William Spangenberg and

"John Spangenberg.

"14th March 1783."

A letter from the undersigned, offering to pay for certain books sent to Spener, reads thus:

"Monsieur

"A la prière, que mon ami a Berlin auquel je suis attaché prend la liberté de vous adresser, je n'ajoute que, s'il y a des frais, consertire le Sr. Durand Neveu Libraire rue Gallands à Paris pour y satisfaire & au meme temps pour recevoir & m'expedier tout a qu'il plaisait a Votre Excellence d'envoyer à M. Spener.

"Monsieur

"De Votre Excellence

"Le tres humble &

"tres obeissant Serviteur

"Treuttel

"Librarie

"Ci devant Bauer & Treuttel

"Strassburg le I Juin

"1783."

Spener was the author of the "Historisch-genealogischer Calendar". Berlin, 1784.

In 1782 we have another Steuben letter.

"Hochwohlgebohrner Herr,

"Höchstzuehrender Herr Minister.

"Eur. Excellenz Gratulieren gantz gehorsamst zu den herrlichen Aussichten vor den Amerikanischen vereinigten Provinzen so durch deine rühmliche und weise Bemühungen solchen Anschein genommen, welches alle Welt billig in Verwunderung gesetzt. Aber nehme mir die Freiheit abermal ein Schreiben an meinen Sohn den General zu übersenden. Mit gantz gehorsamster Bitte es dass mit ersterer Gelegenheit zu bekommen. Indem nicht weiss was von meinem Sohn denken soll, da nur nach alle meine Briefe in Zeit vor einem Jahr keine Antwort erhalten und dass vor meinem Ende müsste von Ihnen nun sein Wohlsein versichert zu sein. Eur. Excellenz vergeben einem bald immer achtzigjährigen Alten dass er mit einem Schreiben so oft incommodiren. Da ich aber keinen anderen Weg weiss so sage das Wort wenn nur zu der Welt bekannten Menschen und Liebe dass Sie meine Bitte gütig auch nehmen werden, und mir durch ein paar Zeilen bekannt machen, ob meine Briefe richtig angekommen. Denn ich mit aller erhimlichsten Hochachtung bis an mein Ende beharren.

"Eur. Excellenz,

"Gantz gehorsamster Diener,

"W. A. von Steuben,

"Insigneur Major und Ritter des Ordens Pour
le Merite.

"Cüstrin, 8. Juni, 1782."

We will give but one example of the innumerable applications made from Germans of all ranks and stations, for positions in the American Colonies, either in military or scholastic pursuits or in professions of medicine, chemistry or the like or in the more humble positions of trade. When we examine the hundreds of letters in the correspondence, that has been preserved for more than two generations, we are astounded that so many letters from all sections reached Franklin's hands. As a benefactor of humanity, as a man of tact, as a man of political

influence at home and abroad, he was besieged by a veritable avalanche, which would in its very size have terrified a more capable and calm correspondent at facing the task of answering in person or through his grandson each one of these epistles. We can presume that he was not lax in fulfilling his duties, for numerous letters acknowledge his personal reply to all sorts of trivial and important matters. Let us examine one of these applications.

"I presume to trouble you with an application for a Letter of Recommendation in favour of Mr. Biedermann Dr. of law in the University of Leipzig who in the course of last year set out for America in the capacity of Agent, & Manager of the Concerns & Interest of many of our principal Manufacturers & Merchants. . . . It is with singular pleasure I embrace this opportunity to assure you of the high Esteem and great respect with which I have the honor to subscribe myself.

"Sir

"Your Most Obedient & most humble Servant

"Ct. de Bruhl

"Dover St.

"March 29th

"1784."

Another letter of interest is this.

"Kiel in Holstein in the

"neighborhood of Hamburgh,

"May 3, 1786.

"Sir

"I should be very vain if I did hope that my satisfying my desire to give You any mark of the high veneration with which i have oftentimes dwelled with my heart on Your high abilities and on the force of Your genius, i could add something to the happiness of Your most illustrious life and if for that reason i did take the liberty of sending to You some of my writings by a brother who goes in this moment in affairs of the Westindia Company at St. Thomas. No, sir, i shall take none of such vanity. Tho' i am sure that Your heart is not indifferent to the

reverence a good man has for You, wherever and whatever he may be, the esteem of a single man who is unknown to you can't be of much importance for a man who is admired and adored by whole nations. But what encourages me to write to You, is the hope that the books i take the liberty to join to this letter, could be of any service to serve men who have much influence into the modifications which are given to the civil and religious cultivations of the United States of America. I should not permit me to indulge to this delighting hope if Germany had not judged very favorably of my writings and of their usefulness. In the book published just now i have endeavored to establish universal principles with respect to all kinds of useful notions particularly on account of religious matters. There can't be put an end of all those Calamities and evils which result from the different opinions, which exist among man in point of religious precepts, if the government in every state takes not care, that principles, founded on the common sense of mankind, be generally adopted and professed, by which every one is naturally exhorted to be just and equitable and to abhor every religious persecution. I am sure that all polite nations if they return to barbarousness and blindness, must come to such principles as a basis of human felicity. But the established religious constitutions, which are adopted not only in all countries where the Roman Catholic religion is domineering but also in every Protestant State of Europe, shall create for a long while many hindrances to wise amendments of religious doctrines. There is at present no people in the world, which can sooner be brought to a high degree of perfection in useful services and religious doctrines than the inhabitants of the United States of America. Your Americans adhere not to so many articles of faith as the Roman Catholic et protestant inhabitants of Europe do. Principles of toleration are domineering in all the United States. The utmost exertions of wise men and especially of one of the most learned and most wise men the world ever saw, the utmost exertions of a Franklin are employed to give to those States excellent Constitutions and laws. Universities and schools are rising and institutions of the Students of Divinity can be regulated on a

liberal and enlarged plan comprehending all those who are good artisans, whatever they may think upon meerely theoretical articles of faith. Tho' i have not had, Sir, the idea of sending You my Winke für gute Fursten [Winks for good Princes] and tho' the idea is just now excited by the opportunity my brother gives me of sending you this book with some other writings—those considerations have nevertheless had the effect that i have perhaps written but few pages, when i have not had in view the United American States and where i have not thought on the use, the Americans would make with surveys of my Winks. These ideas are the more nurished by the reflection that a very great number of the habitants of the united states are Germans. . . . I have but little reason to hope that You understand the German language—so much that you can read with any facility german books. . . .”

[The author, Ehlers, speaks here of sending the French translation of the treatise he has written on human liberty and apologizes deeply for his imperfect knowledge of English, writing: “But fearing that you could not read a german letter i would rather write you a bad english one.”]

“Thinking on You, Sir, which i do more often than You can conceive it, i wish most ardently that before You exit out of the Stage of this world all that belongs to government and to the laws of the united States of America, may be entirely settled; and with respect to the accomplishment of this my vow i wish with an ardor i am not able to express sufficiently, that it may please the divine providence to conserve a life which is superior for millions and the forces of You now for many years and that You may yet augment in a high Degree the benefits and obligations which the vast republican empire of the American states owe to Your wisdom, to the force of your genius, to Your learning and to all the great talents which providence has been leased to unite in Your Person.

“With these Overflowings of my wishes of my feelings i am

“Sir

“Your most obedient servant

“M. Ehlers.”

In this letter he gives us a list of eight works, which he desires to send to America, for the use of those who may take interest in the subjects, which have been the fruits of his pen.

“Landeshutten in Silesia, the 25 Octob. 1786.

“Sir.

“ . . . i take the Liberty to beg your Excellency to use Your Interest and Authority & show that there are men in North America who Possess Honour and Justice & will not suffer that Rascals plunder Strangers of their property. I have been an American Patriot since by my means above 500 sols Have been brought over from Germany, and a very considerable sum of ready money for my friends accounts have been spent in America, and I should still be and enjoie the Happiness of an American patriot and I not had the misfortune that some of my colonierrnds had been the most perjured & most wicked villains, who by their interest at court and Perjury robbed me of my property. . . . Vexed at such an injustice I quited England and Retired to my Native Country where god be thank I enjoie that Happiness and ease as much as any reasonable man can wish for. I have the Honeur to be known Personally to my King and several of His Ministers and am favored by their friendship and Protection.

“Two months ago we lost our King one of the greatest men which-ever Existed, no monarch ever supported more his subjects so than what he had done. He repaired Decayed Towns & those who were dstroyed in wartimes by his enemies or burned accidentally he rebuild at his Expence & he drained Swamps, drew Channals, and after the land was cultivable he devided it amongst new Settlers and made them a present of it; when his Subjects suffered in Winter times by the overflowing of Rivers he paid them the Damage Sufferd, and when they wa[n]ted seeds to sow their fields, his magazins were opened for them. Some years there happened to be a famine in the Northern part of Europe, many thousand of People died in Saxony & Bohemia, but in Brandenburg and Silesia was Plenty or at Least no want, since the king opened his magazins and

assisted Saxony & Bohemia in such a manner that a great many thousand were saved by his Bounty, his yearly expences for the Charitable Support of his subjects amounted to about Ten Million and a half Rextollars & the Treasure which he has left above 120,000. . . . His successor Present King Frederic William the 2d. endeavors to imitate his Predecessors, he said he would endeavor rather to merit, the Name of a Good King, than of a Great king. . . .

"Your Excellency's

"Most obedient Humble Servant

"Peter Hasencleber."

In the above letter there are very careful details given of court events, showing that the writer must have felt that Franklin would take interest in such German affairs.

Johann Jacob Meyen, who published *Franklin der Philosoph und Staatsmann*, In fünf Gesänge, 1787, dedicated to Franklin, wrote the following letter from Altstettin on der Oder in Pommern the 28th of June, 1788:

"My Lord

"Diesen Tribut bringe ich, ein gebohrner Pommer dem grossen Manne, der das Licht der Wissenschaften in Amerika aufstellte, und sein Vaterland zu der grossen Entschliessung begeisterte, die Freiheit zu fühlen, zu schätzen, und wenn die Regierung nicht aufhören will, Tyrrannei zu sein durch Waffen zu erringen, Sie Sind, My Lord, der grosse Mann, der americanische Orpheus, der diesen Umfang der Verdienste hat, welcher Europa in erstaunen setzt. Lange schon hatte unsere unfruchtbare See-Küste der Ost-See, Sie, grosser Mann, in Ihren Schriften genannt; denn wir suchen Licht und das Atlantische Meer, ist nicht breit genug, unsere Wisbegierde zurück zu weihen. Lange schon sahen wir die Natur durch Sie enthüllt, durch Sie den Schleier von der Electricitaet zurück gezogen, und den Gewitter Leiter, Franklinens Coloss auch bei uns aufgestellt. Nun sehen wir Sie auch den blutigen Krieg durchdringen, von der neuen Welt zur alten über das Meer fahren, um Freiheit und Friede zu befestigen; wir sehen Sie, den ehrwürdigen Greis und

Patriarchen der Philosophen und Staatsmaenner in den verdienten Lorbeeren um Ihren silberfarbigen Scheitel prangen. Man brachte sonst die Lobreden nur der Asche des Mannes von Verdiensten; dem Trajan brachte man sie, als er noch lebte; ich thue das was Plinius that, denn Sie, my Lord, verdienen es so sehr wie Trajan. Welch ein eingeschraenktes Loblied ist es, welches ich dem grossen Umfange Ihrer Verdienste widme, so eingeschraenkt als der entfernte Hall des Rufs an unsre See-Küste die dunklen Töne von den grossen Thaten hören liess; aber doch nicht eingeschraenkt für mein Gefühl des grossen und edlen welches ich in Ihnen sehe und fühle. Mein Lied sagt zu wenig, künftige Lobredner können, wollen und werden mehr sagen: alles sollen sie sagen, wir wollen den gantzen Philosophen sehen und haben. Ich bin bis zum Entzücken vergnugt, wenn Sie, Grosser Mann, obwohl mein Gedicht zu wenig vom Umfang und Zeichnung des Werthes Ihrer Thaten doch mein Hertz nicht zu wenig gefühlvoll und ehrfurchtsvoll für das wahre, edle und erhabne finden. Ich bin gantz für Sie, Gott gebe zu Ihren ruhm-vollen Alter noch eine milde Zulage vieler vergnügter und segenvoller Jahre. Ich bin

“My Lord,

“Ganz der Ihrige,

“Johann Jacob Meyen.

“Der Philosophie Doktor und des academischen Gymnasiums öffentlicher professor der Mathematic und Physic, wie auch Königlicher professor der Hydrographie und Schiffskunst.”

“Sir!

“In the latter end last year, I recevid by the hands of Mons. de Butré, a book entitled, Constitutions des Treize Estats Unis de l’Amerique, together with a beautiful Medal struck upon the independency or sepperation of the American Colonies from their Mother Country; the device on the reverse of this medal is as strong & flattering to the arms of France as it is humiliating & disgraceful to those of England; how far the allusion may bear a resemblance to truth, the annals of time are left to unfold, confirm & record.

"If These articles were meant as presents from your Excellency to me, I then beg you will be persuaded to believe that I have employed the very first favorable opportunity of returning you Sir my most grateful thanks & of assuring you that they could not have been bestowed upon a person whose Zealous good wishes for the common cause of extending happiness (& consequently the civil rights & liberty of Mankind) are more ardently poured forth and those of your Excellency's most respectful & much obliged old friend & very Humble

"Servant

"P. P. Burdett.

"Ingenier en chef & capitaine des Gardes

"de S. A. Sme. Le Prince de Baden

"Carlsruhe 17 January, 1786."

(c) *Three Letters of Franklin to Germans.*

Franklin must have sent hundreds of letters of recommendation at the appeal of men of high and low social position in the social scale. This is an example of his own reply from which fifteen copies were made by his orders:

"Passy April 22, 1783.

"Sir

"M. Martin, Professor of Natural History in the Service of the Emperor, being appointed to make a collection of Plants and Animals from the four Quarters of the World, for his Imperial Majesty's Botanical Gardens and Menagerie, proposes to begin his Operations by a Journey thro' the Countries under the Government of the United States of America. He is strongly recommended to me by his Excellency the Ambassador from the Court; and I take leave to recommend him not only to the bounties you are pleased in bestowing on Strangers of Merit, but to all the Assurances and Facilities your Station and the Influence attending it, may enable you to afford him in the Excellence of his Commission, being persuaded about your Zeal for the Increase of Useful Science, as well as the Respect due to

his August Employer, will induce you to render M. Martin with Services with Pleasure I have the honor to be very respectfully
"Sir Your (Excellency's)"

The Prince des Deuxpontes addressed Franklin on the 14th of June, 1783, in regard to establishing trade between Palitinate, Bavaria and the United States of America. This letter is published in Jared Sparks' *Franklin*, Volume IX, page 526. Franklin's answer, however, which can be found on the blank pages of this letter, has as yet not found its way to the printed page. It reads as follows:

Franklin's Response.

"Without information what are the Productions and Manufactures of the Palatinate & of Bavaria and their Prices of which Mr. Franklin is totally ignorant, it is impossible for him to say what of them will be proper for a Commerce with the United States of America. He can only answer in general, that America purchases from Europe all kinds of Woolens & Linnens coarse & fine proper for Clothing for Men & Women; a Variety of Iron & Steele Manufacturers; and she pays in Tobacco, Rice, Indigo, Bills of Exchange or Money. If the Electorates above mentioned can furnish any of these Manufactures cheaper than or as cheap as France, Holland or England they may thereby obtaine a Share of the American Commerce. But it will be prudent for the Merchants to send first a discreat intelligent man with a small cargo of Samples of all their kinds of Goods in order to obtain a thorough knowledge of the nature of the Commerce in that Country, and of all Kinds of Goods & Proportions of their Quantities, that are most in demand there, before they hazard the making of large Adventures. There is no doubt but that the Commerce of the German States will be favorably received in America, where a great many People of that Nation are established. Mr. F. will give it all the Encouragement that can be expected of him; but he cannot take upon him to point out and name as he has been desired the most Solid Houses of Commerce there, having long been absent from that Country and the War having probably made a Change in the Circumstances of many."

"If These articles were meant as presents from your Excellency to me, I then beg you will be persuaded to believe that I have employed the very first favorable opportunity of returning you Sir my most grateful thanks & of assuring you that they could not have been bestowed upon a person whose Zealous good wishes for the common cause of extending happiness (& consequently the civil rights & liberty of Mankind) are more ardently poured forth and those of your Excellency's most respectful & much obliged old friend & very Humble

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Recommendation from Franklin for the Baron von Steuben.
(Draft copy.)

"Passy near Paris Sept. 4, 1777.

"Sir

"The Gentleman who will have the Honour of waiting upon you with this Letter is Baron de Steuben, lately a Lieutenant General in the King of Prussia's Service whom he attended in all his campaigns, being his Aide Campe, Quartermaster General etc. He goes to America with the true Zeal for our cause in View of engaging in it & rendering it all Service in his Power. He is recommended to us by the two best Judges of military Merit in this country, M. de Vergennes & M. de St. Germain who have long been personally acquainted with him, and interest themselves in promoting his voyage. I have therefore great Hopes that the Knowledge from a full Prussian Experience he has acquired by 20 years Study & Practice in the Prussian School may be of great Use in our Armies. I therefore cannot but wish that our service may be made agreeable to him. I have the Honour to be

"His Excell.

"Geo. Washington."

(Printed 1882.)

CHAPTER X.

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